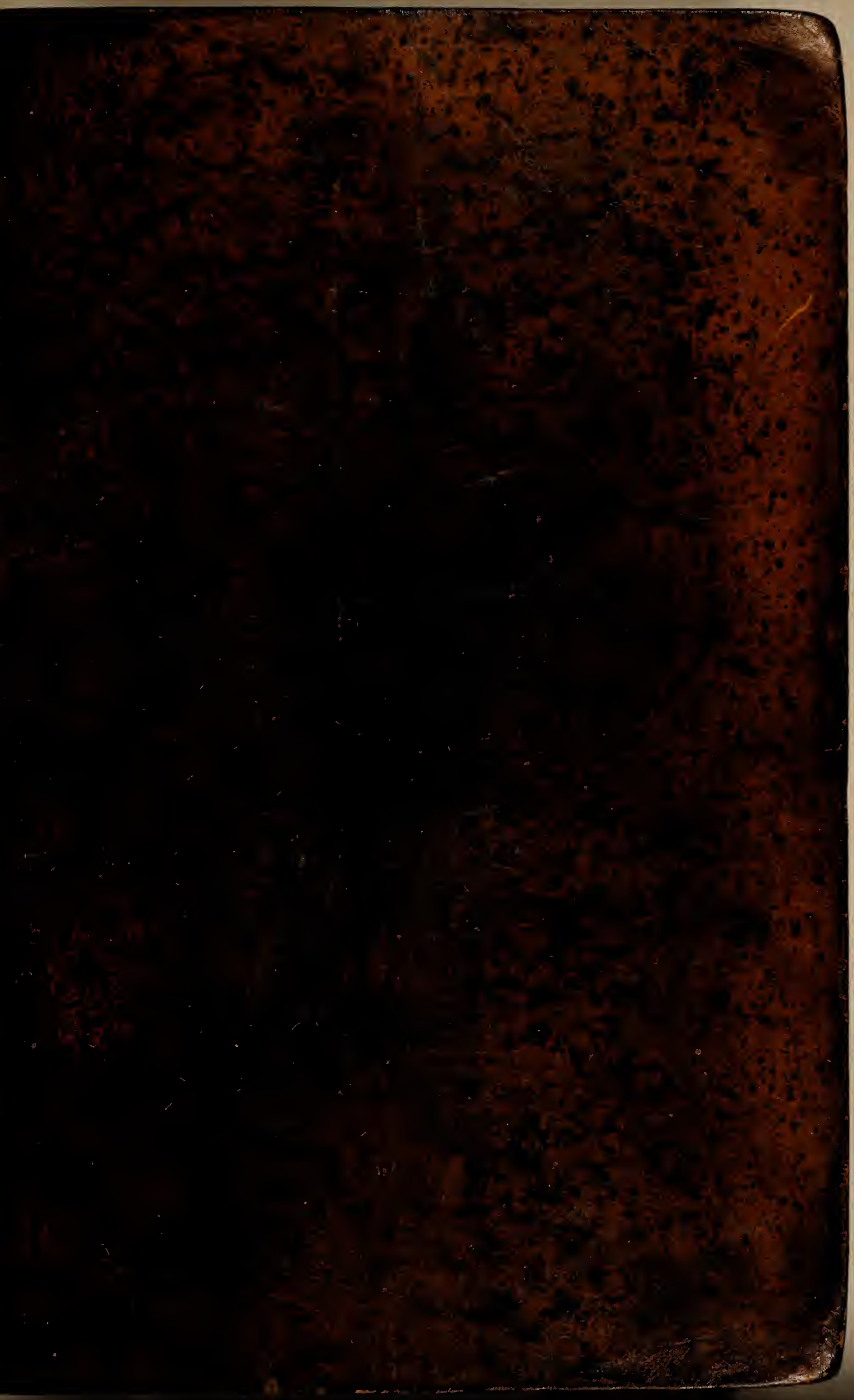

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ELEMENTS

OF

GENERAL HISTORY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

OF THE

ABBÉ MILLOT.

PART SECOND.

Modern History.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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Advertiſement.

THE following volumes of Millot's General Hiſtory, though deſigned as a ſequel to the Ancient part, yet form a complete work by themſelves ; the more valuable, as nothing has hitherto appeared in any language on this ſubject that deſerves the name of an Hiſtory ; except Puffendorf's Introduction, which being almoſt only a heap of dry unconnected facts, huddled together without order or taſte, is therefore incapable of leaving much impreſſion on the mind of the reader but that of diſguſt ; and the Modern Univerſal Hiſtory, which, though a work of eſtabliſhed reputation, is too bulky and expenſive for the generality of readers.

IT is perhaps to the want of a conciſe clear work of this kind, compoſed with elegant impartiality and preciſion, that we are in a great meaſure to aſcribe the neglect, or rather diſrepute into which the ſtudy of Modern Hiſtory has fallen in our ſchools, and even univerſities : Though it be a ſubject equally curious, and much more intereſting than the Ancient, and the ill conſequences attending the neglect of

this branch of knowledge but too viſible. In fact, it appears an abſurdity, that a young man, when he enters into the world, ſhould be acquainted with the moſt trifling incidents in Greece, Italy, or Perſia, three thouſand years ago, and entirely ignorant of the moſt important revolutions that have happened in his own country, or its neighbourhood, in leſs than ſo many centuries; that he ſhould be perfectly ſkilled in the laws and conſtitutions of Athens, Sparta, and ancient Rome, without the leaſt knowledge of thoſe under which he is born, which he is obliged to obey, and which it is his duty to obſerve.

I WOULD not, from what is here ſaid, be underſtood to depreciate the ſtudy of Ancient Hiſtory.—We find in it the moſt maſterly pictures of human nature, the nobleſt examples of heroick virtue and diſintereſted patriotiſm; and, if I may uſe the expreſſion, a ſeries of miracles performed by an intrepidity and wiſdom that ſeem almoſt beyond the reach of mankind.—But perhaps few converts to virtue have been made by that ſtudy; and it is to be feared, that the leſſons it gives are not of ſo much utility as is pretended. Men are generally moſt affected by the practices and principles of their cotemporaries; the tranſactions of remote nations in a diſtant age, make almoſt as little impreſſion as if

they

they had happened in another world; and, though they may attract admiration and applauſe, ſeldom rouſe us to imitation. Indeed it would have been well for the world, had that ſtudy produced the fruits which might naturally be expected from it; but in this inſtance, as in many others, experience refutes theory however ſpecious.

THE ſtudy of Modern Hiſtory, therefore, even as a ſchool of morality, will, perhaps, not be found inferiour to that of the Ancient. If it furniſhes fewer brilliant examples, yet the great and good actions it diſplays, muſt ſink deeper into the mind, and be more productive of emulation, as being performed by men of characters and manners nearly reſembling our own. We either feel, or are witneſſes of the beneficial effects they have produced, as well as the ill conſequences attendant on the contrary vices; and therefore muſt be led by the moſt powerful of all motives, a regard for our own welfare, to embrace the one and fly from the other. But this ſubject would lead me beyond the limits of an advertiſement; and it is not my deſign to write a preface.

THE Abbé, though born and educated under one abſolute prince, employed and rewarded by another, every where ſhews himſelf a foe to tyranny, and a warm aſſerter of the

rights

rights and liberties of mankind. His good ſenſe, candour, and impartiality, oblige him to acknowledge the abuſes and errours that have been propagated in the chriſtian world, by the domineering and intereſted ſpirit of the church of Rome; and the picture he has given of the cruelties ſhe has committed, or been the cauſe of committing; of the tyranny ſhe has exerciſed over the bodies, as well as the conſciences of men, with the beneficial effects produced by the reformation, muſt make every reader ſenſible of the bleſſing we enjoy in being freed from her yoke; eſpecially when we reflect, that though ſhe now appears leſs ſanguinary and deſpotick, yet her moderation proceeds only from her want of power; and that the care ſhe takes to keep up her pretenſions, indicates a fixed reſolution to enforce them, if ever circumſtances take a favourable turn.

HIS merit as an hiſtorian is too well known to be mentioned; that of the tranſlation is ſubmitted to the candour of the reader, who, it is hoped, will find entertainment in theſe volumes, as he certainly will inſtruction.

PREFACE.

PREFACE.

HAVING laid down the plan of this work in the Preface and Introduction to the Ancient Hiſtory, what is here neceſſary to be added will peculiarly reſpect the Modern ; a ſubject much more difficult to be treated in a general point of view.

THOUGH my labours be not intended for children, whoſe age renders them incapable of purſuing a regular train of reflections ; but for youth, who are already acquainted with the firſt elements of literature ; and men of buſineſs, who are deſirous either of acquiring an idea of the principal hiſtorical events, or of refreſhing their memories, without engaging in too tedious a courſe of ſtudy ; yet I have not totally neglected readers even of the tendereſt age : The paſſages beſt ſuited to their capacity or taſte may be ſelected, the difficulties cleared up, and the few preliminary inſtructions neceſſary, be readily ſupplied.

IN

IN elementary treatiſes of the ſpeculative ſciences, every thing is to be defined and demonſtrated; all the ideas muſt ſpring immediately from one another; the principles and conſequences be linked together with the utmoſt preciſion and clearneſs; and, even then, minds which have received but an ordinary degree of cultivation, ſeldom acquire them without aſſiſtance. But this method is incompatible with hiſtory, particularly general hiſtory; which conſiſts of an infinite number of facts, for the moſt part unconnected, ſcattered in confuſion through the bottomleſs abyſs of ages, and the boundleſs extent of the univerſe, more or leſs intereſting to us according to our various taſtes or perſonal connexions; in a word, ſuch, that every nation (not to ſay every diſtrict) produces an enormous multitude of volumes, filled only with accounts of its own tranſactions. How difficult muſt be the taſk to ſelect from this chaos, to arrange with method, preciſion, clearneſs, exactneſs, and elegance, the materials proper to give the reader a knowledge

ledge of what is really eſſential, and render the ſtudy pleaſing, inſtead of laborious !

IF I have made any approaches to this point of perfection, it is the utmoſt I could hope from this long labour ; the inaccuracies of which will perhaps hereafter be leſſened. The title of *Elements* cannot here be taken in the ſtrict ſenſe which it commonly bears in works of a different ſpecies ; but I have preferred it as moſt expreſſive of the object I had in view, though without ſubjecting myſelf to a conſtraint ſuperfluouſly ſcrupulous. Above all things brevity appeared to me eſſentially neceſſary ; and it is often ſufficient barely to point out the facts, in order to form the connexion of ideas. In a word, my plan was neither to give a dry chronological table, ſtuffed with names and dates, nor an inſipid compilation of trivial unintereſting facts ; but to ſketch the great picture of human events ; deſcending only to ſuch particulars as were abſolutely neceſſary to fix the attention on the points moſt to be remembered. The reader has here the

ſeeds

ſeeds of that information, which he will find fully diſplayed in particular hiſtories.

IN a work of this nature it is no eaſy taſk to give a good narrative; but to arrange it is ſtill more difficult. The moſt proper method, as far as I can judge, is that which, while it excites curioſity, beſt aſſiſts the memory. But in whatever manner we proceed, the principal point is to bring objects of ſimilar kind as near to each other as poſſible, to mark the concatenation of cauſes and effects, to obſerve the ſprings of the different revolutions, to conform to the progreſs of the human underſtanding, and diſtribute our materials within certain limits, in order to place them in the moſt diſtinct view. The epochas, commonly uſed, appear to me very defective; and notwithſtanding the pains I have taken to improve that method, I cannot flatter myſelf with having brought it to the perfection at which I aimed.

TO make hiſtory a ſubject of reaſoning, to draw from it juſt ideas and practical conſequences on the intereſts of ſociety, is unqueſtionably the moſt eſſential point in a courſe

courſe of inſtruction, where it is endeavoured to unite reaſon with ſentiment. When ſuch is the deſign, every object ought to lead to reflections or maxims, to enlighten the underſtanding, or to form the heart.

HAD virtue generally prevailed among mankind, it would become natural to the ſpecies, and be practiſed almoſt without pains or ſtudy. But, on the contrary, ſo great is human weakneſs, that General Hiſtory continually preſents us with a picture of follies and diſorders, and conveys her inſtructions much more frequently by pointing out the miſtakes and misfortunes of our anceſtors, than by examples worthy of applauſe.

ACCORDINGLY, the faults of the ancient governments are become one of the moſt uſeful leſſons of politicks, and the errours of the ancient clergy one of the beſt ſchools of diſcipline and morality.

FOR this reaſon I ſhall not conceal any exceſſes productive of pernicious effects; not even thoſe that have drawn ſo ſevere reproaches upon the pontificate, the prieſthood,

hood, and the religious orders. It is my duty to ſhew, that in ages of ſuperſtition and ignorance theſe have been a great ſource of the calamities which have afflicted mankind. Do not the ſacred writings paint ſimilar diſorders in the moſt lively colours? Doth not the divine law condemn even the imperfections of its miniſters? One of the triumphs of the church is, that it has ſubſiſted notwithſtanding the offenſive conduct of its members. In vain doth the infidel ſhameleſsly impute them to religion; to the Chriſtian they furniſh an additional motive for adoring the diſpenſations of providence.

BESIDES, every impartial man will own, that if great evils have been frequently produced by the abuſe of the holy miniſtry, the greateſt advantages have flowed from its daily uſe. The ill effects of the one are conſpicuous, and unhappily make a great figure in hiſtory; the good effects of the other are unnoticed; becauſe they are perpetual and uniform, and follow the ordinary courſe of ſociety.

AFTER all, this evil ſprung rather from errour than from vicious paſſions, and may

in ſome degree even turn to the honour of the miniſters of the altar; becauſe ſome confeſs it with candour, others avoid it with care; and the greateſt part being better acquainted with the duties of civil ſociety and Chriſtianity, ſhew themſelves more worthy of confidence or publick eſteem.

TO attain perfection in this world is a pleaſing, but chimerical idea; yet every government ought to improve, and will do ſo by a cool examination of former faults. In offices of every kind, eccleſiaſtical, political, and civil, the miſtakes of another ſerve as leſſons for the proper regulation of our own conduct.

THEY who in this reſpect change, or affect to diſguiſe hiſtorical facts, will always be ſuſpected of a haughty and intereſted ſpirit; which is the more prepoſterous, as truth has long been piercing the clouds, and nothing contributes more to her ſplendour than the imprudent methods uſed to cover her with obſcurity. Being eſſentially the friend of religion, law, and good order, her ſole tendency is to inſpire a love of

virtue

virtue and our duty ; nor can ſhe, without depraving her nature, be brought to favour the cauſe of licentiouſneſs. Whatever writer departs from the fundamental principles of reverence for Chriſtianity, and love for his country, is either blind, or a liar ; and hiſtory will bear teſtimony againſt him.

MAY it in every country form paſtors worthy of being quoted as models ; magiſtrates, through whom juſtice really utters her decrees ; warriors who will generouſly defend the ſtate ; ſubjects faithful to their prince, and zealous for their country ; princes attentive to deſerve the loyalty and affection of their ſubjects ; writers capable of inſtructing the nations ; in a word, men in every ſtation of private life, happy by their diſcretion, and uſeful to ſociety by their labours !

SHOULD this weak attempt inſpire any of our youth with a love of truth and virtue, it will be crowned with ſucceſs. If it give any individual a juſt cauſe for complaint, nothing will have been more repugnant to my intentions. Satire would fill me with remorſe, adulation with ſhame.

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PRELIMINARY

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

On the Eſtabliſhment of the BARBARIANS *in the* ROMAN EMPIRE.

AMONG the many bloody revolutions which have changed the appearance of the world, none more deſerves the attention of the politician, and even of the philoſopher, than that by which the Roman empire was overturned, and the monarchies of Europe erected on its ruins. The glory, greatneſs, ſtrength, and learning, of that famous empire, were ſuddenly extinguiſhed; the work of ages, the labour of ſo many heroes and immortal geniuſes, was deſtroyed by barbarians, till then unknown or deſpiſed, who triumphed over Rome, and ſeizing her provinces, formed them into independent ſtates, where they eſtabliſhed

The ruin of the empire a large field for reflections.

eſtabliſhed their own laws and prejudices, together with their power. The cauſes and effects of ſo memorable an event, would furniſh matter for ſeveral volumes, but I ſhall ſketch them out in one view, confining myſelf to a few uſeful reflections, limiting my hiſtorical inquiries to what will enlighten the reaſon, and inſpire the principles of virtue.

This revolution accounted for from moral cauſes.

The Roman name ſtrikes with ſuch veneration, that we almoſt weep over the ruins of their empire, and are tempted to look with abhorrence upon its deſtroyers, as monſters equally worthleſs and deteſtable. But ought that giant, which cruſhed the nations and devoured their remains, to be more the object of our attention than our own progenitors? Are Arcadius and Honorius, with the heirs of their cowardice and ſtupid imprudence, more reſpectable than Alarick, Ataulfus, Clovis, Odoacer, Theodorick, Totila, Alboinus, Autharick, &c.? Was the government of the emperours preferable to that of the new monarchs? And ought we not to look upon the victories and permanent eſtabliſhment of the barbarians as the natural effect of moral cauſes, by whoſe influence, ſooner or later, empires riſe and fall. This point will be decided by having recourſe to hiſtory.

hiſtory. Let us turn back a moment, and recal ſome important ideas which are ſcattered in the firſt part of this work, and which contain the ſeeds of thoſe inſtructive leſſons we are in the ſequel to diſplay at full length.

How the Romans gained their empire.

Rome owed her greatneſs no leſs to her manners than to her politicks and arms. Elevation of ſoul, love of liberty and patriotiſm, a paſſion for glory, invincible patience under fatigue, contempt of dangers and of death, obedience to the laws, and above all, military diſcipline, had extended and ſecured her conqueſts. Even her acts of injuſtice were clothed with a brilliant garb of majeſty, and the *kingly people* made their tyranny reſpectable.

By what means, and how far they were corrupted.

At Rome, riches produced the ſame effects as in every other country: The manners were corrupted by luxury, the votes of the multitude were purchaſed in order to gratify the ambition of the great; liberty was extinguiſhed in the blood of the citizens, the rage of civil war was appeaſed only by the eſtabliſhment of a ſovereign; intereſt formed courtiers, and force made ſlaves; the legions became inſtruments of deſpotiſm, and aſſumed a right to diſpoſe of the imperial dignity; the pretorian guards always ſold themſelves to the beſt bidder,

and

and treated with equal contempt the lives of princes and the laws of the republick; in one word, the moſt monſtrous crimes, the moſt ſhameful abuſes, were committed under the form of the ancient government. A ſenate debaſed, magiſtrates without authority or honour, troops without reſtraint, a people without ſpirit, oppreſſed and inſolent, gave themſelves up to all kinds of diſorder, while the throne was ordinarily the ſeat of debauchery, villany, and almoſt every vice.

Some great emperours adminiſtered only temporary remedies to the evil.

A few great men who roſe to ſupreme power, gave a picture of the ancient virtues. Rome ſeemed to revive, but like a patient ſnatched from the brink of the grave, without extirpating the ſeeds of death united with his frame; the ſources of corruption again opened, and her relapſe was dreadful.

Dreadful licentiouſneſs of the army.

The armies, which created emperours in order to extort from them immenſe largeſſes, and afterwards maſſacred them to extort equal ſums from their ſucceſſors, roſe to that pitch of licentiouſneſs, where the name of diſcipline is a ſignal for revolt. They were no longer the ſoldiers but the oppreſſors of the country; they were no more citizens armed for the common defence, they were banditti freed from every reſtraint,

reſtraint, and inſatiable of prey. Beſides, there were enrolled among them, numbers of thoſe barbarians whoſe countrymen and brethren poured into the Roman provinces; and the enemies found, even in the legions, men eager to receive them.

Vice and wretchedneſs of the people.

While a dangerous military force guarded or ruined the frontiers, the people in the capitals, at a diſtance from, and unacquainted with war, were almoſt equally ſtrangers to induſtry, which is ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary for the preſervation of morals. Indigent and idle, they lived upon the diſtributions and largeſſes which, from a wretched policy, had been eſtabliſhed in order to gain their favour. They required bread and ſhows, not as a recompenſe or relaxation of their labours, but rather as the product and food of their vices; ready to revolt when the neceſſities of the ſtate prevented the payments of that tribute. Italy, which was converted into a garden, from an imitation of Aſiatick pomp, refuſed nouriſhment to its inhabitants. If by misfortune, as was frequently the caſe in the midſt of diſturbances and civil wars, the fleets from Africa and Sicily miſcarried, the people breathed only ſedition: If an enemy appeared at the gates of the city, they were incapable of obedience or reſiſtance.

ſiſtance. Rome was no longer inhabited by Romans.

Deplorable ſtate of the Weſt after the building of Conſtantinople.

When Conſtantine built his new capital, and from ill judged pride, drew to it almoſt all the riches of his empire, the Weſt was exhauſted and fell into a kind of torpor. However, we are aſſured, that when Rome was taken by Alarick, the yearly income of ſeveral families amounted to upwards of 200,000 *l.* and thoſe of the ſecond rank were worth at leaſt 50,000 *l. per annum.* If we even make a conſiderable abatement from this calculation, it is an evident proof that the property of the nation was ſwallowed up by a few individuals ; that crimes were inceſſantly multiplied, wretchedneſs increaſed by the influence of abominable luxury, and that the provinces were a prey to courtiers, magiſtrates, and tax gatherers.

Publick robberies.

In fact, hiſtory preſents us only with a picture of extortions and robberies. The famous impoſt of χρυσαργυρον levied upon things the leaſt proper for taxation, even in ſome degree on beggary itſelf, was a reproach to the memory of Conſtantine. A check ſeemed to be given to injuſtice by ſeveral laws, particularly thoſe by Arcadius and Honorius, though they were princes utterly deſtitute of abilities : But laws were now an empty name. Never was injuſtice more

more open, or leſs puniſhed. The miniſters, the women, the eunuchs, the lacqueys of the court, ſacrificed every thing to their paſſions, under the ſacred name of the imperial power: A name which was now only uſed for the purpoſes of tyranny.

Continual revolutions.

Let us reflect only on two facts which cannot be controverted. In fifty years after the death of Alexander Severus, more than fifty Cæſars or emperours were proclaimed and maſſacred by the ſoldiers, who were as prone to rebellion and murder, as regardleſs of honour and the publick good. On the other hand, infamous treachery became one of the principal reſources of government. Aſſaſſins were let looſe againſt thoſe princes whoſe arms were dreaded: They were even drawn into the ſnare by the ſhew of friendſhip, and the rites of hoſpitality were ſtained with murder! Hoſpitality anciently ſo ſacred among the Romans! Hoſpitality which the barbarians practiſed with ſuch generous frankneſs! The reign of Valens furniſhes two inſtances of kings thus murdered when they roſe from table. A ſtrange method of putting a ſtop to the enterpriſes of thoſe conquering nations, while the emperours were not aſhamed to pay them tribute, and

Treachery uſed againſt the barbarians.

purchaſe

purchaſe peace at the very time they were provoking them to war.

Virtue and honour extinct.

Need we then be ſurpriſed, that virtue and honour, being no more to be found at court, in the army, or in office, an unhappy and debaſed people reſembled their anceſtors in nothing but in name; which being rendered common to all the ſubjects of the empire, did not awake, in a ſingle breaſt, the ſentiments of ancient Rome; that minds formerly ſo ardent for the publick intereſt, were now cold to every thing but the factions of charioteers, and theological quarrels; in a word, that religious feuds extinguiſhed the laſt embers of patriotiſm, and became one of the principal cauſes of the approaching ruin.

Religious feuds ſubſequent to the eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity.

Chriſtianity had happily aſcended the throne; the natural tendency of which was, to make truth diſpel errour, virtue triumph over the paſſions, and univerſal charity unite all men in God, whoſe infinite goodneſs and mercy were ſet before them as models of imitation. But this religion did not render them impeccable; while they forſook its precepts, they might uſe it as a pretext for the moſt deſtructive exceſſes. If chriſtians, after having ſignalized their faith under the ſword of perſecution, became

came perſecutors in their turn, the body politick would be torn in pieces, and breaches opened on every ſide, through which foreign enemies might make their way into the heart of the empire; conſequences which experience ſoon verified.

Though Conſtantine had a ſtrong inclination to deſpotiſm, he did not attempt to force the conſciences of idolaters. How was it poſſible that he ſhould imagine the Romans would bend their knee to the croſs, unleſs, from conviction, they adored its myſtery in their hearts? It was no ſmall advantage, that altars were raiſed to the true God, and the Goſpel was preached in the Capitol. This ſyſtem of moderation was followed by ſome emperours; but, at laſt, overweening zeal, with which paſſion ſo artfully mixes, took advantage of the ſovereign's favour. The gods of Rome were publickly inſulted; their ſtatues broken, and their worſhippers oppreſſed. In a ſhort time, the thunder of penal laws was pointed againſt the ancient rites; it was made capital to offer ſacrifices which had formerly been enjoined by law: The altar of Victory, that altar ſo dear to the nation, was demoliſhed before the eyes of the ſenate; and though the number of Pagans was ſtill very conſiderable, though the empire had not

Violences offered to the Pagans.

ſtrength

ſtrength ſufficient to reſiſt the torrent of enemies which poured upon it, the government excluded from all employments, civil and military, every man who did not conform to the religion of the prince; that is, in a manner cut off the heads and arms which ought to have been uſed for its defence.

Hence ſprung diſcord and fanaticiſm.

Hence ſprung reproaches, injuries, and mutual feuds, ſo proper to rouſe the ſpirit of fanaticiſm. Hence factions for or againſt the new emperours, according as they were imagined to be favourable, or unfavourable, to the ſeveral parties. Hence the diſcontent of the Pagans inflamed to ſuch a degree, that they expreſſed the higheſt exultation on the invaſion of Italy, by Radagaiſus, at the head of two hundred thouſand Goths, in the year 405; as if the gods were come in perſon to avenge their altars. In a word, the Pagans attributed to Chriſtianity all the diſaſters which befel the empire; and the Chriſtians affirmed, that the remains of Paganiſm drew upon it the wrath of heaven, while both were leſs attentive to the common ſafety, than to their religious quarrels.

The Chriſtians divided among themſelves.

To complete the misfortune, the diſciples of Chriſt were inſpired with mutual feuds, ſtill more implacable and deſtructive.

The

The ſpirit of contention, condemned by St. Paul, became almoſt univerſal. New ſects ſprung up inceſſantly, and combated each other. Each boaſted its apoſtles, gave its ſophiſms for divine oracles, pretended to be the depoſitary of the faith, and uſed every effort to draw the multitude to its ſtandard. the church was filled with diſcord. Biſhops anathematized biſhops ; violence was called in to the aid of argument, and the folly of princes fanned the flame which ſpread with ſo deſtructive rage. They played the theologiſts, attempted to command opinions, and puniſhed thoſe whom they could not convince. The laws againſt idolaters were ſoon extended to hereticks ; but what one emperour proſcribed as heretical, was, to another, ſound doctrine : Thus were the different parties fruitleſsly irritated by perſecution ; for, even when directed againſt hereticks, it rendered the catholick faith rather odious than triumphant.

Emperours, theologiſts, and perſecutors.

What was the conſequence ? The clergy, whoſe influence was already great at court, and ſtill greater among the people, began to withdraw from the ſovereign authority that reſpect which religion inſpires. The examples of this are too well known to be mentioned. We would now give the name of ſeditious libels to ſome writings of illuſ-

The clergy aſſume too great power.

trious perſonages, who are audaciouſly quoted by fanaticks in their railings againſt men in authority ; but whoſe virtues they forget, while they uſe their faults as a plea for their own conduct. The popular ferments being heightened by the animoſity of a multitude of the clergy ; prince, country, law and duty, were no longer regarded. Men were Arians, Donatiſts, Priſcillianiſts, Neſtorians, Eutychians, Monothelites, &c. but no longer citizens ; or rather every man became the mortal enemy of thoſe citizens whoſe opinions he condemned. Quite contrary to the practice of the ancient Romans, whoſe diſputes, concerning the moſt ineſtimable privileges, were terminated the moment that a ſignal of war proclaimed the republick in danger. This unheard of madneſs, for irreconcilable quarrels, on ſubjects that ought to have been referred to the judgment of the church, never abated amidſt the moſt dreadful diſaſters. Every ſect formed a different party in the ſtate, and their mutual animoſities conſpired to ſap its foundations. It was probably this conſideration which ſo violently prompted Julian to aboliſh Chriſtianity. Blind in a matter ſo eſſential, he attended only to the abuſe made of the doctrine, without perceiving that this abuſe was expreſsly condemned

Violent animoſity of the ſects.

demned by the precepts of Chriſtianity, and that the beſt members of the community muſt be formed in the ſchool of the goſpel.

Theſe ſeeds of deſtruction were daily foſtered by the faults of government. Theodoſius himſelf was guilty of imprudence. He permitted the Catholicks to uſe force againſt the Hereticks who met in private houſes. Having declared the Manicheans worthy of death, the people thought they had a right to kill them, as proſcribed perſons; and the emperour was at laſt obliged to prohibit, under pain of death, thoſe murders which were occaſioned by his law. His two ſons, Arcadius and Honorius, by their own ſuperſtition, and the tyranny of their favourites, haſtened the ravages of the torrent which had long threatened the tottering empire.

Injudicious laws of Theodoſius and his ſons.

Thoſe northern nations, who took up arms againſt the Romans, unqueſtionably deſerved the appellation of barbarians: Breathing only war and rapine, they went in ſearch of milder climates, and more fertile lands than their foreſts and mountains; their title was founded on their ſwords, and they enforced it without ſcruple, as the right of nature. But, though I am far from having any inclination to write their panegyrick, how formidable, how ſuperiour were

The barbarians much ſuperiour to the Romans of that period.

theſe barbarians to the poliſhed nations whom they attacked! Simple and ſevere in their manners, they were unacquainted even with the name of effeminacy; their extreme frugality made the moſt ſcanty proviſion ſufficient; their bodies, hardened by fatigue, ſeemed proof againſt pain; war being, if I may uſe the expreſſion, their element, they made a ſport of dangers, and braved death with marks of joy.

Though free, and enemies to conſtraint, they were inviolably attached to their chiefs; becauſe they elected the moſt deſerving to command. Whatever may be ſaid, a ferocious courage was not their ſole virtue. We have a picture of the German manners, drawn by a philoſophick hiſtorian, where we ſee the ties of marriage held ſacred, a generous hoſpitality, a hatred of enervating vices, and many eſtimable traces of wiſdom, amply ſufficient, with the cultivation of reaſon, which leads to the true principles of ſocial life, to have formed a people ſolidly virtuous. Doth not hiſtory teſtify, that even the Huns, thoſe ſavage banditti, inviolably kept their word? Let us add, that the Francks, the Goths and ſeveral other barbarous nations, while they combated the Romans, or ſerved in the imperial armies as mercenaries, had acquired ideas and knowledge;

knowledge ; and their contempt for a people whom they had made tributary, ſufficiently proves, that they poſſeſſed a ſuperiority which made conqueſt certain. Their conquering princes were great men, and thoſe great men at the head of formidable armies attacked weak enemies : The revolution may be accounted for by the courage and policy of the victors, the vices and miſtakes of the vanquiſhed.

The Vandals under Genſerick.

We ſhudder at the reading of the barbarities committed in Gaul, and afterwards beyond the Pyrennées, by the Vandals, the Alans, and the Suevi, the firſt conquerors of Spain. Yet ſcarce were they maſters of the country when we ſee them ſoften their ferocity, cultivate the lands, diſpel the fears of the inhabitants, and by the fame of their juſtice and clemency, recal thoſe whom terrour had baniſhed from the country.

Some years after, we ſee Genſerick king of the Vandals, quitting Spain for a preferable conqueſt ; by an equal exertion of prudence and valour, wreſt Africa from the Romans ; create a formidable naval power, though at firſt not maſter of a ſingle veſſel ; ſupport himſelf in his new conqueſts with all the ſkill of a firſt rate politician ; equally ſucceſsful in the field and the cabinet ;

net; and in a word, triumph over the empire till his death, by the ſame methods with which Rome in the early ages laid the foundations of her grandeur.

Alarick and the Viſigoths.

In Italy, Alarick king of the Viſigoths diſplayed a conduct ſtill more worthy of admiration. Though irritated by the repeated treacheries of the court of Honorius, he was neither perfidious nor cruel. He loudly appealed to the faith of treaties, and purſued his revenge with the magnanimity of a hero guided by juſtice. Twice he ſpared Rome, and at laſt being obliged to take it, in 410, he neglected no means of leſſening the horrours of his vengeance, he ordered the women to be treated with reſpect, the churches to be ſaved, the blood of the vanquiſhed to be ſpared, and preſerved the lives of numbers of Roman citizens. After his death, Ataulfus his ſucceſſor, heir of his generous ſentiments, and a friend to peace, ſettled in the north of the Alps, near the Pyrennées, and by his virtues gained the hand of Placidia. The moderation of Ataulfus is ſufficient proof, had we no other, of the power of the Viſigoths.

Attila, a great man in many reſpects.

The fierce Attila, who penetrated into the heart of the weſtern empire, after having made Theodoſius II. tremble on the throne

throne of Conſtantinople ; Attila, whom that emperour attempted to aſſaſſinate, and who, while he granted his pardon, reproached him as a perfidious ſlave ; Attila, who, though enriched with ſpoils, received the Roman ambaſſadours with ſuch noble ſimplicity, eating a frugal repaſt from wooden diſhes while he cauſed them to be ſerved in gold plate ; Attila, who, on the point of giving up Rome to pillage, relented at the intreaty of a holy pontiff ; whoſe policy equalled his courage and power, who became the terrour of the famous Ætius, though once defeated by him ; Attila, I ſay, could eaſily have dethroned Valentinian III. had he not choſen rather to make him his tributary like Theodoſius.

Odoacer and Theodorick conquerors of Italy.

The conqueſt of Italy was reſerved for Odoacer, leader of the Heruli ; a man worthy to be the founder of a monarchy in that country, becauſe he was the reſtorer of peace, ſecurity, and happineſs, which had long been unknown under the Roman emperours. A new conqueror deſpoiled him of his acquiſitions, but, happily for the people, that conqueror was Theodorick, a prince above all praiſe for the virtue of his adminiſtration, his deſire of the publick good, the conſummate prudence of his views, the choice of his miniſters and generals ; in a word,

a word, for whatever can make a ſovereign the idol of his ſubjects, and the dread of his enemies. The Trajans and Antonini, it ſeems, were deſtined to revive in the perſon of an Oſtrogoth, while their ſucceſſors were a diſgrace to the empire, and the ſport of barbarians. The Gothick nation was deſtined to eclipſe the glory of the Roman name, after having ſo many times ravaged the provinces of the empire! Thus do nations originate, grow up, flouriſh, degenerate, fall, and diſappear in ſucceſſion; and all theſe viciſſitudes have their cauſes, which may be traced by an attentive ſtudy of hiſtory.

Contraſt between their principles of toleration and the perſecuting ſpirit of Juſtin.

Sometimes men's pictures may be drawn at a ſingle ſtroke. Odoacer and Theodorick, who were Arians, equitably protected the catholicks. *We have not*, ſaid the laſt of theſe princes, *any authority over religion, for it is impoſſible to force belief.* On the contrary, the emperour Juſtin thundered out new edicts againſt the heterodox, without perceiving that he not only greatly weakened the empire, but furniſhed the king of Italy with a reaſon for treating the catholicks in the ſame manner. In fact, Theodorick in a rage threatened him with it, and Italy was on the brink of loſing one of the greateſt advantages it enjoyed under this

this monarch's equitable government; of ſuch importance is it to the intereſts of religion not to irritate its adverſaries.

Clovis and the Francks.

The Francks were leſs informed than the Goths, and conſequently more barbarous; but Clovis united in his perſon all the qualities proper for extending and ſecuring their conqueſts. Equally great as a hero and a politician, he made religion as well as arms ſubſervient to his deſigns: And what reaſon can be aſſigned for the eagerneſs with which Gaul ſubmitted to his government, but becauſe he made it as deſirable as the Roman yoke had been odious, Barbarians were wiſhed for; they were received as the avengers of nations ſubdued by their arms! So great is the horrour inſpired by tyranny.

Temporary change under Juſtinian.

Under Juſtinian, the empire ſeemed to recover its vigour. The Vandals, enervated and corrupted in the lap of luxury, ſunk under his arms, and were driven out of Africa; the Goths, though they had for their monarch another Theodorick in Totila, were vanquiſhed and expelled from Italy. This temporary revolution was entirely the work of two great men, who, it may be ſaid, were obliged to combat the vices of the government, before they could triumph over the barbarians. Beliſarius, unſupplied

plied with troops and money, was even obliged to roam through Italy like a fugitive before Totila. Had not Narſes been a conſummate courtier, and made the beſt uſe of his favour in order to ſecure every means of ſucceſs, Totila would not have been vanquiſhed.

Great faults committed by that emperour.

When we ſee Juſtinian paying enormous ſubſidies to the Perſians, the Huns, the Turks, the Abares, &c. exhauſting his treaſury by a prodigious number of uſeleſs buildings; ruining his provinces by oppreſſive taxes; employing Beliſarius in caſes of neceſſity, without granting him the requiſite ſupplies, and diſgracing him after the moſt important ſervices; declaring himſelf the partiſan of one of the factions of the Circus, and by that ſhameful imprudence arming the ſanguinary rage of the factions; erecting himſelf into a doctor of the church, or rather a judge of the faith, amidſt the calamities of war; depopulating whole countries by perſecuting the heterodox; afterwards falling into hereſy and perſecuting the catholicks; collecting in his Code and Digeſt, an endleſs number of laws which almoſt died with him, and even perpetually changing thoſe laws by new regulations, equally trifling and venal: When, I ſay, we examine the

actions

actions of this prince, and the monuments he left behind him, we juſtly ſuſpect the encomiums laviſhed upon him by the civilians, and clearly foreſee that his reign will be followed by fatal revolutions.

The Lombards ſettled in Italy.

They began even in the reign of his ſucceſſor Juſtin II. The Italians, from a zeal for orthodoxy, had withdrawn their allegiance from the kings of the Oſtrogoths, whoſe equitable laws ſpared their property and tolerated their faith, but immediately repented when they felt the weight of a more oppreſſive government. The wiſhed for change was brought about by the intrigues of the court of Conſtantinople againſt Narſes. Alboinus, at the head of the Lombards, entered Italy, and eaſily made himſelf maſter of almoſt the whole country; where, by the juſtice and mildneſs of his government, he ſecured the affections of the people, and was ſucceeded by a ſeries of prudent monarchs, who made the laws their rule of conduct. This fine country ſtill gained by changing the yoke of the emperours for that of the barbarians, who were ſo raſhly deſpiſed.

Imprudent conduct of Heraclius in the Eaſt.

We need but caſt an eye on the Eaſt, to be fully convinced of the ſource of thoſe unavoidable revolutions which I am examining. While the emperour Heraclius tarniſhed

tarnished the lustre of his victories over the Persians, by sinking into lethargick indolence, from which he awaked only to fix his attention on the reveries of the Monothelites; whilst by his *ecthesis*, he attempted to regulate the faith and provoked the Theologians to new disputes, Mahomet united the Arabians under his dominion, made them a nation of heroes, and set the springs of fanaticism in motion with such dexterity, that his subjects, who submitted with the greatest humility to his absurd oracles, were invincible warriors against their neighbours. With a handful of Mussulmen he gave the first blow to the empire, and destroyed a numerous army of Heraclius. His two first successors, Abubeker and Omar, poor, virtuous, prudent, and intrepid, flew from conquest to conquest. Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Africa, besides the extensive kingdom of the Persians, in a few years fell under the Arabian yoke. A singular instance, where superiority of conduct is not less visible than superiority of valour.

Mahomet and the Arabians.

Those warriors, who are sometimes painted as monsters insatiably thirsting after blood, always offered an alternative to the vanquished, either to pay tribute or embrace Islamism; if they chose the last, they shared

Their conduct with regard to the Christians.

ſhared in the advantages of the victors ; if the firſt, they were ſure of being treated with moderation. What could the cowardly and cruel policy of the emperours oppoſe to ſuch means of aggrandizement, ſupported by every thing proper to ſecure victory ? If the Muſſulmen had not, in their turn, been infected with the poiſon of riches and grandeur, and the madneſs of religious quarrels, perhaps the whole known world had been ſwallowed up in their empire.

The Romans naturally vanquiſhed by all the barbarous nations.

Corruption and weakneſs on one ſide ; bravery, vigour, activity and policy, on the other ; are the moſt viſible cauſes of the eſtabliſhment of the barbarians on the ruins of the empire. To enter into particulars of that kind, would open a boundleſs field. The miſconduct of the princes, the crimes of the court, the treachery of the generals, the ſeditions of the people, the acts of villany, cowardice, and meanneſs are numberleſs. The barbarians were unqueſtionably moſt worthy of reigning, becauſe, from the Tagus to the Euphrates, the nations found a breathing time when freed from the preſſure of the Roman power.

Diſmal effects of the revolution.

But, however neceſſary that revolution might be, its being brought about by barbarians, ought to be looked upon as a misfortune.

misfortune. Let us obſerve its effects on the laws, manners, the human faculties, and religion. We ſhall find reaſon to lament the fate of our ſpecies, which ſeldom emerges from one gulph but to plunge into another.

The Roman laws diſuſed.

Though the Roman laws, eſpecially thoſe poſterior to the reign of Conſtantine, were mixed with ſome abuſes, yet, in general, they were the beſt which unaſſiſted reaſon had produced. They were adopted by the great Theodorick, and his genius, ſeconded by Caſſiodorus, eagerly embraced that method of making his government more gentle and more reſpected in Italy. But his example was very little followed. Chindaſuinthus, a king of the Viſigoths, in Spain, condemned thoſe laws as abounding with difficulties, and too ſubtle for the prompt deciſion of cauſes. Probably the other nations rejected them from the ſame notion, and it muſt be acknowledged, that the ſimplicity of the German laws was better ſuited to artleſs ignorant men, warriors equally incapable of application and conſtraint.

Abuſes in the laws of the barbarians.

The laws of the barbarians then prevailed almoſt univerſally, and with them prevailed diſorders. Though mild in appearance, becauſe they ſpared the lives of malefactors,

factors, they failed in the main end of legiſlation, by not ſufficiently repreſſing crimes. Is not a permiſſion to compound for murder by the payment of a certain ſum, a declaration, authorizing the rich to commit that crime with impunity? Did not the proof by duel, which was eſtabliſhed for the deciſion of cauſes, reduce every thing to the right of the ſtrongeſt? Did not the abſurd trials by red hot iron, water, the croſs, &c. change juſtice into ſleights of ſtrength or dexterity? We find thoſe extravagant abuſes even in the laws of the Lombards, which, in other reſpects, are ſo full of moderation and equity, that they kept their ground in Italy even after the expulſion of that people. So much is the power of cuſtom ſuperiour even to reaſon!

Though the conquerors did not adopt the laws of the vanquiſhed, they notwithſtanding permitted the uſe of them to the natives. In Italy, Gaul, and Spain, the Roman was at firſt judged by the Roman laws. But not to mention, that, by a mixture of blood, he muſt, in proceſs of time, become a Lombard, Franck, or Viſigoth; theſe diſcordant laws neceſſarily gave riſe to new diſorders, when the judicial authority loſt ſight of the firſt principles, and legiſlation, far from improving, became every day

Dangerous mixture of the two ſyſtems of legiſlation.

day more dark and imperfect. Thus what ought to have conſtituted the happineſs of ſociety contributed to its miſery.

Govern-ment of the barbarians excellent in appearance.

However it muſt be agreed, that the form of government eſtabliſhed by the barbarians has a captivating appearance. Inſtead of that deſpotiſm exerciſed by the emperours, we here ſee liberty ſeated under the ſhadow of the throne. The national aſſemblies kept up the balance of the national rights againſt the prince. The laws by which all were bound, really were, or ſeemed to be, the work of all, by being enacted with general conſent. The barbarians never looked upon kings, but as generals or chief magiſtrates. Accordingly, among them, the crown was never ſo ſtrictly hereditary, that a father could, as matter of right, transfer it to a ſon incapable of wearing it.

Inconveni-ences reſulting from it.

Let us not ſuffer ourſelves to be dazzled by falſe appearances. This form of government, which appears the moſt worthy of our nature, which is excellently calculated for a virtuous and moderate people, became a ſource of convulſions and anarchy. I omit the numerous inſtances of great monarchs being aſſaſſinated, of wicked princes raiſed to the throne by intrigue or violence. I confine myſelf to fundamental principles. Even among the Lombards,

whoſe

whoſe wiſdom is ſo highly extolled, the bulk of the people had no ſhare in the general aſſemblies. It is but too clearly proved by all hiſtories, to what a low degree of abaſement that part of the community was reduced, which by its labour ſupports the reſt, which confines its deſires to ſo narrow a compaſs; and which, notwithſtanding the civilization and refinement of our manners, is ſtill in ſo miſerable a condition through almoſt all Europe. In fact, the great men, the magiſtrates, who were at the ſame time inveſted with military command, if they had not the right, at leaſt poſſeſſed the power of regulating all affairs of ſtate in conjunction with the prince. Their natural roughneſs of temper, their contempt for agriculture, commerce, and the arts, combined to make them neglect and trample upon men whom they ſcarce diſtinguiſhed from their ſlaves.

Abaſement of the people.

And how jealous of their power were thoſe great men, thoſe members of the publick council, how eager to ſeize every opportunity of extending it! Sharers in the power of legiſlation with the crown, of which they ſometimes diſpoſed at their pleaſure, what powerful means did they not poſſeſs for gratifying their ambition? The kings conferred upon them benefices

Independence of the great.

Fiefs.

which were afterwards known by the name of fiefs. Theſe lands ſeparated from the royal domain, but revocable at the will of the ſovereign, were a kind of pay for their military ſervice, upon which tenure they were held. But muſt not the man who enjoyed the uſufruct, naturally wiſh for the poſſeſſion; muſt he not be accuſtomed to look upon the property of the land, whoſe profits he reaped with pleaſure, as a deſirable acquiſition, and endeavour to make it hereditary in his family, eſpecially when he had ſtrength ſufficient to give him reaſonable hopes of ſucceſs?

Feudal government.

Thus was the embryo of the feudal government contained in the conſtitution of the new monarchies, which afterwards unfolded itſelf, and ſhot under ground many concealed roots, before it produced that unnatural mixture of royalty without power, and vaſſalage without ſubmiſſion; a mixture from which ſprung the greateſt calamities that have afflicted Europe.

Feudal anarchy.

Though the feudal law originated among the Lombards, Giannoné juſtly obſerves, that before them fiefs were known even in Italy. The German nations every where eſtabliſhed the uſe of them, which they made an eſſential part of their government. Men of ſuperiour genius would have been every

every where neceſſary to prevent their abuſe ; but in every country, the weakneſs and unſkilful conduct of princes raiſed an innumerable multitude of uſurpers, who equally tyranniſed over the ſubjects and ſovereigns. The feudal government became an univerſal ſcourge, worthy of the manners of thoſe nations who deſtroyed the empire.

Barbarous manners.

If the Romans, notwithſtanding their taſte and luxury, ſtill preſerved, in ſome degree, the ruſt of barbariſm ; for inſtance, their fondneſs for ſanguinary diverſions, and the animoſity that prevailed between the factions of the Circus ; if the manners grew more ſavage when the barbarians were admitted into the armies, held offices, and were enrolled among the citizens, barbariſm muſt neceſſarily become general and permanent, after the country fell under their dominion ; and though its effects were ſuſpended by Theodorick, and a few other great men, they could not deſtroy its root. The infection was not at firſt ſo powerful in Italy, becauſe there the people were more poliſhed : But at laſt, all the conquered countries were ſtamped with the character of the victors ; and perhaps the good inſtitutions which they borrowed

from the vanquiſhed, by degenerating, increaſed the evil.

Cauſes of the prevalence of virtue among the ancient Romans.

In ancient Rome, republican virtue (which however does not deſerve the exceſſive praiſes that have been beſtowed on it, becauſe it was united with ambition and injuſtice) ſubſiſted a long time, either from poverty being eſteemed honourable; the people being employed in the innocent labours of agriculture, or the influence of the laws borrowed from Greece, which produced a double benefit, the cultivation of manners, and the reformation of abuſes.

Every thing naturally grew worſe among the nations who ſucceeded them.

On the contrary, among the nations which divided the empire, every thing conſpired to the growth of barbariſm; it was foſtered by their laws, their government, and their cuſtoms. As they deſpiſed the arts, and placed all merit in the exerciſe of arms, by the ſudden acquiſition of vaſt territories, they contracted the habits of vice, without loſing their natural ferocity. They entertained too great a contempt for the Romans to form themſelves by their example; and indeed thoſe, who then went under that name in the provinces, were, for the moſt part, only a herd of wretches, ſunk below the dignity of human nature, and therefore unworthy of being ſet up for models.

els. Duels, acts of violence and robberies, were perpetuated. The sword was the criterion of honour, the standard of right and wrong. The more uncapable the government was, of repressing licentiousness, which it even authorised by its own excesses, the more it gave play to the impetuosity of the national character. The Francks are represented by Agathias, as a gentle and polished people, considering they were barbarians; yet what acts of savage cruelty stain their history! What scenes of horrour do we find after Clovis, not to mention those of his reign! And is it not sufficient only to name Fredegonda and Brunehaut; those two furies, who drenched themselves in the blood of the people, to glut their ambition and revenge! Yet these sanguinary women only followed the torrent of the manners, with the propensity of the passions. Charlemagne, the wonder of his age, attempted a reformation, the very plan of which deserves immortality. But what was the effect of his endeavours, except to leave monuments of a zeal, equally laudable and fruitless? Like the czar Peter, he would have created a new nation, if, like him, he had found a model; but meeting every where only with barbarism, he left Europe under its influence.

Their excesses.

Charlemagne attempts in vain to reform them.

How

Barbariſm foſtered by ignorance.

How was it poſſible that the nations ſhould acquire humanity, juſtice, or the ſocial virtues, when reaſon was ſunk in the thickeſt darkneſs? Ignorance having long overſpread the Weſt, and quenched almoſt every ray of knowledge, by which Rome was once enlightened, had ſubſtituted pernicious, or ridiculous errours in its ſtead. Falſe taſte, the common indication of a perverted underſtanding, prevailed in their writings. The cultivation of letters was neglected; for the faculties of the ſoul were abſorbed by a ſenſe of danger and the publick calamities. Eloquence conſiſted in futile declamations; philoſophy was loſt in the abyſs of ſophiſtical theology; the war which was kindled, either between the two religions, or the orthodox and hereticks, had turned men's minds from an attention to natural truths, loſing ſight of which is always pernicious, even to religion; and the principles of politicks and morality were greatly corrupted, of which we have a proof even in their laws.

This ignorance neceſſarily increaſed.

But the ignorance of the barbarians, compared to that of the Romans, is in proportion of the total darkneſs of night, to the glimmering of the twilight. Among them, therefore, ignorance muſt eſtabliſh her throne, and reign jointly with barbariſm.

iſm. The little knowledge, which ſtill ſubſiſted among the vanquiſhed, could not enlighten men who were enemies of learning and reflection; and the vanquiſhed could not conform to the prejudices of the victors.

Yet we have ſeen the Tartars, after their conqueſt of China, in a manner brought into ſubjection, by the reaſon and maxims of the Chineſe. This difference is amazing, but it may be explained. The Chineſe empire being founded upon uniform principles, held inviolably ſacred, rooted in the hearts of an innumerable multitude; the ſovereign authority deriving its vigour from thoſe maxims, and the literati being the depoſitaries of the laws, the guides of opinion, and the prime movers of the government; the Tartars found themſelves under a neceſſity, either of changing that fine country into a deſert, by a maſſacre of the inhabitants, and loſing the fruits of their conqueſt, or of becoming Chineſe, to inſure the quiet poſſeſſion of China. On the contrary, the provinces ſucceſſively diſmembered from the Roman empire, readily ſubmitted to the yoke of the barbarians; their inhabitants were not at that time even poſſeſſed of a ſuperiority of reaſon ſufficient to give them an aſcendant over the minds of their

The caſe here not the ſame as in China, where the Tartars were enlightened.

their conquerors. Barbariſm, in a greater or leſs degree, already prevailed univerſally; and its influence neceſſarily increaſed every day.

Fatal effects of ignorance.

I ſhall not ſtop to draw a picture of the horrid ignorance in which Europe was buried. We bluſh for our anceſtors, and lament the brutal debaſement of the human mind. If there be ſtill any perſons ſo uncandid as to calumniate ſcience, becauſe it is ſometimes abuſed, let them, at leaſt, compare this abuſe with the endleſs miſchiefs produced by ancient barbariſm: So many prejudices, deſtructive of civil order, of the rights of mankind, humanity, decency, and virtue; ſo many ſhameful errours eſtabliſhed as certain truths; and ſo many truths tyrannically proſcribed as errours; ſo many obſtinate contentions for frivolous opinions; ſo many citizens ſacrificed; ſo many ſtates overthrown by the influence of falſe principles. If they diſſemble theſe miſchiefs, they are guilty of diſhoneſty; if they are not acquainted with them, hiſtory ſpeaks, and truth is triumphant.

Blind ſuperſtition.

The greateſt of theſe, unqueſtionably, was the corruption of a divine religion, which, had it been better known, would have prevented and corrected all diſorders. When we examine the practice of the barbarians,

barians, notwithſtanding their exceſſive zeal for Chriſtianity, we almoſt in vain look among them for Chriſtians. Their devotion, equally blind and ſanguinary, made them perpetually ſee miracles of the ſaints, and ſeldom the diſtinguiſhing characteriſticks of ſanctity; ignorant of the precepts of the goſpel, it was ſupported by fables; winked at debauchery, rapines and murder, from a belief that the kingdom of Heaven might be purchaſed by ridiculous obſervances, or coſtly foundations; conſcientiouſly perpetrated, in the name of God, for his glory, and under pretence of his commands, all the evil that fanaticiſm could inſpire, and violated all the beneficent virtues preſcribed by religion. Such Chriſtians have ſometimes been extolled by the compilers of chronicles, equally ignorant with themſelves; becauſe, in the common opinion, largeſſes, profuſely beſtowed on churches and monaſteries, redeemed all crimes.

Exceſſive power of the clergy.

A conſequence of that madneſs, and one of the principal effects of the eſtabliſhment of the barbarians, was that exceſſive power which ſoon made the clergy maſters of the ſubjects and the ſovereigns. The emperours, by calling them to the court, and mixing theology with political affairs, had imprudently

prudently rouſed the enterprizing ſpirit of a body ſo reſpectable, ſo uſeful, ſo holy in the primitive ages ; but who might one day be rendered dangerous by the abuſe of their auguſt miniſtry, and the evil increaſed with incredible rapidity.

In Spain the biſhops diſpoſe of the crown.

The leſs the barbarians were informed, the more were they addicted to ſuperſtition, and the more blindly did they give themſelves up to the ſhepherds of ſouls, who were not themſelves ſufficiently enlightened to diſcern the true ſpirit of Chriſtianity, and were too obnoxious to the weakneſſes of humanity, to keep within the limits of their function. From the very beginning of the monarchy of the Viſigoths in Spain, the biſhops ſhared with the lords the right of electing the king, were abſolute in their dioceſes, and regulated the affairs of government in the great councils of the nation : Being entruſted with the important office of new modelling and drawing up a body of laws, they performed the taſk in the manner beſt ſuited to their own intereſt and prejudices.—" To the " code of the Viſigoths, ſays the celebrated " Monteſquieu, we owe all the maxims, " principles, and views of the preſent in- " quiſition ; the Monks have only copied

" laws,

" laws, formerly enacted by the biſhops,
" and enforced them againſt the Jews."
Eſprit des Loix, l. 28. c. i.

They were likewiſe legiſlators in France.

Clovis, who was partly indebted to the prelates for the ſubmiſſion of the people, beſtowed on them, with unlimited profuſion, whatever could ſerve to increaſe their power. His ſucceſſors were more laviſh, becauſe leſs political. Under the French monarchs of the firſt race, the clergy roſe to ſuch a pitch of grandeur, that nothing was wanting but an opportunity for them to make and unmake kings, as had been done by a council of Toledo, at the end of the ſeventh century, under the reign of the unfortunate Wamba. Pepin learned by experience, how ſerviceable the favour of the biſhops might be to the views of ambition; and Lewis the Debonnaire, Charles the Bald, and other princes, were taught in the ſame manner how formidable their diſguſt might be to the crown.

The eccleſiaſtical laws confounded with the civil.

The mixed aſſemblies, ſo frequent under Charlemagne, which are ſometimes called councils, at others parliaments, whatever encomiums they may deſerve in other reſpects, were calculated for increaſing an abuſe, which had before prevailed under the Roman emperours. By mingling the eccleſiaſtical laws with the civil, they confounded

things

things too heterogeneous, and paved the way for deſtroying all diſtinction between thoſe two powers. Though a monarch of Charlemagne's ſuperiour genius could ſafely admit the clergy to a ſhare in the legiſlation, was there not reaſon to apprehend, that under weak and ignorant princes, they would engroſs the whole authority? In fact they did ſo; for many of their ordinances, on matters purely reſpecting civil order, had often the force of law. Let us be juſt; we will rather impute it to the ignorance of the laity, than the ambition of the prieſts.

Other abuſes.

At laſt, every thing was, for a time, ſunk in the moſt dreadful confuſion. The biſhops and abbots, metamorphoſed into barons, adopted the military life, and engaged in wars; held councils, after acting as generals, and introduced the genius of temporal dominion into the exerciſe of ſpiritual power. Church cenſures, the end of which was to convert ſinners, became a formidable inſtrument for the defence of lands, the maintenance of privileges, and ſometimes unjuſt pretenſions. The clerks, who alone preſerved ſome faint tincture of letters, ſcarce more than the knowledge of reading and writing, by that means erected themſelves into a tribunal, where they judged

judged all affairs by maxims unknown to antiquity. Marriages, wills, contracts, the intereſts of families, of courts, the ſtate of the living and of the dead, were all converted into inſtruments for promoting their credit, and increaſing their riches. To impute theſe abuſes to religion, is impious and abſurd; for when freed from its trammels, it bore witneſs againſt them, and furniſhed means for their reformation. I ſhall add a remark, the truth of which cannot be queſtioned; the power exerciſed by the miniſters of the altar, notwithſtanding their vices and uſurpations, was ſtill ſalutary; becauſe, without it, crimes would have been ſubjected to no kind of reſtraint.

Enterpriſes of the popes.

Ought we, after this, to be ſurpriſed, that the popes, when by the benefactions of the kings of France they became princes, ſoon confounded the ſacred rights of their See with the chimerical projects of ambition? that they often acted leſs like ſovereign pontiffs, than ſovereign maſters of Chriſtendom? And that the biſhops, the people, and the kings, ſo often crouched under the deſpotiſm of the court of modern Rome? At a time when, in many countries of Europe, a man who underſtood the Lord's Prayer, was thought ſufficiently qualified for the prieſthood; the people did not examine

amine the goſpel to find in it, that the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt is not of this world; nor were they capable of concluding from it, that St. Peter's ſucceſſors had not inherited from him univerſal empire: Far from ſearching in the eccleſiaſtical monuments for the ancient rules, they even did not ſuſpect that any ſuch exiſted; the popes were believed to be above human nature; they were almoſt equalled with gods, but unluckily they were only men.

How Europe at laſt emerged out of barbariſm.

Such were the moſt remarkable conſequences of the revolution by which the Roman empire was deſtroyed. They, doubtleſs, proceeded in part from the ſtate of debaſement in which that empire languiſhed before its fall. But the manners and ignorance of the barbarians were equally pernicious with the ſuperſtition and vices of the conquered people. Is it then agreeable to the incomprehenſible order in which human affairs are arranged, that barbariſm and politeneſs, folly and wiſdom, ſtupidity and knowledge, evil and good, ſhould circulate from one region to another, and mutually ſucceed each other in the ſame country? Could it have been believed, that the firſt rays of the light which diffuſed itſelf through Europe, in the midſt of univerſal darkneſs, ſhould proceed from thoſe Arabians,

Arabians, who had burned the library of Alexandria; becauſe, according to them, all truths were contained in the Koran? Could it have been believed, that Italy, torn in pieces, and loaded with fetters, would be the firſt to teach the Europeans the art of writing and thinking? Could it have been believed, that France and England, after ages of brutal ignorance, would ſurpaſs the ſchools of Athens, not only in matters of ſcience, but ſometimes even in productions of taſte? Could it have been believed, that Germany, Switzerland, and the frozen regions of the North, would all at once produce phenomena of literature and ſcience? That literary bodies, veſted with no authority but that of reaſon; that private perſons ſhould, from their cloſets, give laws to the human mind, enlighten governments, and even nations; and that an infinite number of errours, which had been the ſcourge of ſociety, ſhould be diſſipated like a light vapour before the ſun? Revolutions equally aſtoniſhing with any to which the world was ever witneſs.

This picture diſpenſes us from entering into ſeveral particulars, which would make an elementary treatiſe too unwieldly. The dreadful objects it preſents, make us lament

It will beforehand experience the greateſt misfortunes.

ment the lot of the nations. Europe, ſo unhappy under the Roman yoke, was miſerable for a long time under the dominion of the barbarians ; and many ages paſſed before reaſon brought back order and humanity. But at laſt we ſhall ſee the darkneſs diſpelled, the manners poliſhed, the ſocial virtues produced, by the cultivation of genius ; and notwithſtanding the vices of human nature, and the faults in the governments, the people arriving at a degree of knowledge, in which it is to be hoped that every thing tending towards perfection, the evils leſſening with the number of crimes, the general and particular good increaſing by reciprocal influence, the laws and manners mutually aiding each other, Europe, under a wiſe government, will enjoy all the advantages that ought to ſoften the uneaſineſſes inſeparable from life.

[It is of importance to be well acquainted with the manners and principles of the barbarians, who founded ſo many modern monarchies. Some obſervations on that ſubject will be found at the end of our firſt Epochas; but the quotation I have here ſubjoined, appeared to me peculiarly well calculated for the inſtruction of readers whoſe attention is turned to general ideas. It may ſerve as a model, in the ſame manner as Dr. ROBERTSON's Introduction to the Hiſtory of CHARLES V. to form an excellent reſult from particular facts. It is taken from *An Eſſay on the Hiſtory of Civil Society, by Dr.* FERGUSON, *Profeſſor of Moral Philoſophy in the Univerſity of* Edinburgh, Part. II. Chap. 3.]

Of RUDE NATIONS *under the Impreſſion of Property and Intereſt.*

"IN the weſt of Europe; in America, from ſouth to north, with a few exceptions; in the torrid zone, and every where within the warmer climates; man-

kind have generally applied themſelves to ſome ſpecies of agriculture, and have been diſpoſed to ſettlement. In the eaſt and the north of Aſia, they depended entirely on their herds, and were perpetually ſhifting their ground in ſearch of new paſture. The arts, which pertain to ſettlement, have been practiſed, and variouſly cultivated, by the inhabitants of Europe. Thoſe which are conſiſtent with perpetual migration, have, from the earlieſt accounts of hiſtory, remained nearly the ſame with the Scythian and Tartar. The tent pitched on a moveable carriage, the horſe applied to every purpoſe of labour, and of war, of the dairy, and of the butcher's ſtall, from the earlieſt to the lateſt accounts, have made up the riches and equipage of this wandering people.

" But in whatever way rude nations ſubſiſt, there are certain points in which, under the firſt impreſſions of property, they nearly agree. Homer either lived with a people in this ſtage of their progreſs, or found himſelf engaged to exhibit their character. Tacitus has made them the ſubject of a particular treatiſe; and if this be an aſpect under which mankind deſerve to be viewed, it muſt be confeſſed, that we have ſingular advantages in collecting their features.

tures. The portrait has already been drawn by the ableſt hands, and gives at one view, in the writings of theſe celebrated authors, whatever has been ſcattered in the relations of hiſtorians, or whatever we have opportunities to obſerve in the actual manners of men, who ſtill remain in a ſimilar ſtate.

" In paſſing from the condition we have deſcribed, to this we have at preſent in view, mankind ſtill retain many parts of their earlieſt character. They are ſtill averſe to labour, addicted to war, admirers of fortitude, and, in the language of Tacitus, more laviſh of their blood than of their ſweat. They are fond of fantaſtick ornaments in their dreſs, and endeavour to fill up the liſtleſs intervals of a life addicted to violence, with hazardous ſports, and games of chance. Every ſervile occupation they commit to women and ſlaves. But we may apprehend, that the individual having now a ſeparate intereſt, the bands of ſociety muſt become leſs firm, and domeſtick diſorders more frequent. The members of any community being diſtinguiſhed among themſelves by unequal ſhares in the diſtribution of property, the ground of a permanent and palpable ſubordination is laid.

" Members of the ſame community enter into quarrels of competition or revenge. They unite in following leaders, who are diſtinguiſhed by their fortunes, and by the luſtre of their birth. They join the deſire of ſpoil with the love of glory; and from an opinion, that what is acquired by force juſtly pertains to the victor, they become hunters of men, and bring every conteſt to the deciſion of the ſword.

" A ſimilar ſpirit reigned, without exception, in all the barbarous nations of Europe, Aſia, and Africa. The antiquities of Greece and Italy, and the fables of every ancient poet, contain examples of its force. It was this ſpirit that brought our anceſtors firſt into the provinces of the Roman empire; and that afterwards, more than perhaps their reverence for the croſs, led them to the Eaſt, to ſhare with the Tartars in the ſpoils of the Saracen empire.

" From the deſcriptions contained in the laſt ſection (of rude nations prior to the eſtabliſhment of property) we may incline to believe, that mankind, in their ſimpleſt ſtate, are on the eve of erecting republicks. Their love of equality, their habit of aſſembling in publick councils, and their zeal for the tribe to which they belong, are qualifi-

qualifications that fit them to act under that ſpecies of government; and they ſeem to have but a few ſteps to make, in order to reach its eſtabliſhment. They have only to define the numbers of which their councils ſhall conſiſt, and to ſettle the forms of their meeting: They have only to beſtow a permanent authority for repreſſing diſorders, and to enact a few rules in favour of that juſtice they have already acknowledged, and from inclination ſo ſtrictly obſerve.

"But theſe ſteps are far from being ſo eaſily made, as they appear on a ſlight or a tranſient view. The reſolution of chooſing, from among their equals, the magiſtrate to whom they give, from thenceforward, a right to control their own actions, is far from the thoughts of ſimple men; and no eloquence, perhaps, could make them adopt this meaſure, or give them any ſenſe of its uſe.

"Before this important change is admitted, men muſt be accuſtomed to the diſtinction of ranks; and before they are ſenſible that ſubordination is matter of choice, muſt arrive at unequal conditions by chance. In deſiring property, they only mean to ſecure their ſubſiſtence; but the brave who lead in war, have likewiſe the largeſt ſhare in the

ſpoils.

ſpoils. The eminent are fond of deviſing hereditary honours ; and the multitude, who admire the parent, are ready to extend their eſteem to his offspring.

" Poſſeſſions deſcend, and the luſtre of family grows brighter with age. Hercules, who perhaps was an eminent warrior, became a god with poſterity, and his race was ſet apart for royalty and ſovereign power. When the diſtinctions of fortune and thoſe of birth are conjoined, the chieftain enjoys a preeminence, as well at the feaſt as in the field. His followers take their place in ſubordinate ſtations ; and inſtead of conſidering themſelves as parts of a community, they rank as the followers of a chieftain, and take their deſignation from the name of their leader. They find a new object of publick affection, in defending his perſon, and in ſupporting his ſtation ; they lend of their ſubſtance to form his eſtate ; they are guided by his ſmiles and his frowns ; and court, as the higheſt diſtinction, a ſhare in the feaſt which their own contributions have furniſhed.

" As the former ſtate of mankind ſeemed to point at democracy, this ſeems to exhibit the rudiments of monarchical government. But it is yet far ſhort of that eſtabliſhment, which is known in after ages

ages by the name of *monarchy*. The diſtinction between the leader and the follower, the prince and the ſubject, is ſtill but imperfectly marked; their purſuits and occupations are not different; their minds are not unequally cultivated; they feed from the ſame diſh; they ſleep together on the ground; the children of the king, as well as thoſe of the ſubject, are employed in tending the flock; and the keeper of the ſwine was a prime counſellor at the court of Ulyſſes.

"The chieftain, ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed from his tribe to excite their admiration, and to flatter their vanity by a ſuppoſed affinity to his noble deſcent, is the object of their veneration, not of their envy: He is conſidered as the common bond of connexion, not as their common maſter; is foremoſt in danger, and has a principal ſhare in their troubles: His glory is placed in the number of his attendants, in his ſuperiour magnanimity and valour; that of his followers, in being ready to ſhed their blood in his ſervice.

"The frequent practice of war tends to ſtrengthen the bands of ſociety, and the practice of depredation itſelf engages men in trials of mutual attachment and courage. What threatened to ruin and overſet every

good

good diſpoſition in the human breaſt, what ſeemed to baniſh juſtice from the ſocieties of men, tends to unite the ſpecies in clans and fraternities; formidable, indeed, and hoſtile to one another; but, in the domeſtick ſociety of each, faithful, diſintereſted, and generous. Frequent dangers, and the experience of fidelity and valour, awaken the love of thoſe virtues, render them a ſubject of admiration, and endear their poſſeſſors.

"Actuated by great paſſions, the love of glory, and the deſire of victory; rouſed by the menaces of an enemy, or ſtung with revenge; in ſuſpence between the proſpects of ruin or conqueſt, the barbarian ſpends every moment of relaxation in the indulgence of ſloth. He cannot deſcend to the purſuits of induſtry or mechanical labour: The beaſt of prey is a ſluggard; the hunter and the warrior ſleeps, while women or ſlaves are made to toil for his bread. But ſhew him a quarry at a diſtance, he is bold, impetuous, artful, and rapacious: No bar can withſtand his violence, and no fatigue can allay his activity.

"Even under this deſcription, mankind are generous and hoſpitable to ſtrangers.... Nations and tribes are their prey: The ſolitary traveller, by whom they can acquire only

only the reputation of generoſity, is ſuffered to paſs unhurt, or is treated with ſplendid munificence.

" Though diſtinguiſhed into ſmall cantons under their ſeveral chieftains, and for the moſt part ſeparated by jealouſy and animoſity; yet, when preſſed by wars and formidable enemies, they ſometimes unite in greater bodies. Like the Greeks in their expedition to Troy, they follow ſome remarkable leader, and compoſe a kingdom of many ſeparate tribes. But ſuch coalitions are merely occaſional, and even, during their continuance, more reſemble a republick than a monarchy. The inferiour chieftains reſerve their importance, and intrude, with an air of equality, into the councils of their leader, as the people of their ſeveral clans commonly intrude upon them. Upon what motive, indeed, could we ſuppoſe, that men who live together in the greateſt familiarity, and amongſt whom the diſtinctions of rank are ſo obſcurely marked, would reſign their perſonal ſentiments and inclinations, or pay an implicit ſubmiſſion to a leader who can neither overawe nor corrupt.

" Military force muſt be employed to extort, or the hire of the venal to buy, that engagement which the Tartar comes under

under to his prince, when he promiſes, " That he will go where he ſhall be com- " manded ; that he will come when he " ſhall be called ; that he will kill whoever " is pointed out to him ; and for the fu- " ture, that he will conſider the voice of " the king as a ſword."

" Theſe are the terms to which even the ſtubborn heart of the barbarian has been reduced, in conſequence of a deſpotiſm he himſelf had eſtabliſhed ; and men have, in that low ſtate of the commercial arts, in Europe, as well as in Aſia, taſted of polit- ical ſlavery. When intereſt prevails in every breaſt, the ſovereign and his party cannot eſcape the infection ; he employs the force with which he is intruſted, to turn his people into a property, and to command their poſſeſſions for his profit or pleaſure. If riches are by any people made the ſtandard of good and of evil, let them beware of the powers they intruſt to their prince. " With the Suiones," ſays Taci- tus, " riches are in high eſteem ; and this " people are accordingly diſarmed, and " reduced to ſlavery."

" Where rude nations eſcape this calam- ity, they require the exerciſe of foreign wars to maintain domeſtick peace : When no enemy appears from abroad, they have leiſure

leiſure for private feuds, and employ that courage in their diſſenſions at home, which, in time of war, is employed in defence of their country.

" Among the Gauls," ſays Cæſar, " there " are ſubdiviſions not only in every nation, " and in every diſtrict and village, but al- " moſt in every houſe, every one muſt fly " to ſome patron for protection." In this diſtribution of parties, not only the feuds of clans, but the quarrels of families, even the differences and competitions of individuals, are decided by force. The ſovereign, when unaſſiſted by ſuperſtition, endeavours in vain to employ his juriſdiction, or to procure a ſubmiſſion to the deciſions of law. By a people who are accuſtomed to owe their poſſeſſions to violence, and who deſpiſe fortune itſelf without the reputation of courage, no umpire is admitted but the ſword. Scipio offered his arbitration, to terminate the competition of two Spaniards in a diſputed ſucceſſion. " That," ſaid they, " we have already re- " fuſed to our relations: We do not ſub- " mit our difference to the judgment of " men; and, even among the gods, we ap- " peal to Mars alone."

" It is well known, that the nations of Europe carried this mode of proceeding to

a degree of formality unheard of in other parts of the world; the civil and criminal judge could, in moſt caſes, do no more than appoint the liſt, and leave the parties to decide their cauſe by the combat: They apprehended, that the victor had a verdict of the gods in his favour; and when they dropped in any inſtance this extraordinary form of proceſs, they ſubſtituted in its place ſome other more capricious appeal to chance; in which they likewiſe thought, that the judgment of the gods was declared.

"The fierce nations of Europe were even fond of the combat, as an exerciſe and a ſport. In the abſence of real quarrels, companions challenged each other to a trial of ſkill, in which one of them frequently periſhed. When Scipio celebrated the funeral of his father and his uncle, the Spaniards came in pairs to fight, and, by a publick exhibition of their duels, to increaſe the ſolemnity.

"In this wild and lawleſs ſtate, where the effects of true religion would have been ſo deſirable, and ſo ſalutary, ſuperſtition frequently diſputes the aſcendant even with the admiration of valour; and an order of men, like the Druids among the ancient Gauls and Britons, or ſome pre-

tender

tender to divination, as at the Cape of Good Hope, finds, in the credit which is paid to his ſorcery, a way to the poſſeſſion of power: His magick wand comes in competition with the ſword itſelf, and, in the manner of the Druids, gives the firſt rudiments of civil government to ſome; or, like the ſuppoſed deſcendant of the ſun among the Natchez, and the Lama among the Tartars, to others, an early taſte of deſpotiſm and abſolute ſlavery.

"We are generally at a loſs to conceive, how mankind can ſubſiſt under cuſtoms and manners extremely different from our own; and we are apt to exaggerate the miſery of barbarous times, by an imagination of what we ourſelves ſhould ſuffer in a ſituation to which we are not accuſtomed. But every age hath its conſolations, as well as its ſufferings. In the interval of occaſional outrages, the friendly intercourſes of men, even in their rudeſt condition, is affectionate and happy. In rude ages, the perſons and properties of individuals are ſecure, becauſe each has a friend, as well as an enemy; and if the one is diſpoſed to moleſt, the other is ready to protect: And the very admiration of valour, which, in ſome inſtances, tends to ſanctify violence, inſpires likewiſe certain maxims of generoſity

ofity and honour, that tend to prevent the commiſſion of wrongs.

" Men bear with the defects of their policy, as they do with hardſhips and inconveniences in their manner of living. The alarms and the fatigues of war become a neceſſary recreation to thoſe who are accuſtomed to them, and who have the tone of their paſſions raiſed above leſs animating or trying occaſions. Old men, among the courtiers of Attila, wept, when they heard of heroick deeds, which they themſelves could no longer perform ; and among the Celtick nations, when age rendered the warrior unfit for former toils, it was the cuſtom, in order to abridge the languors of a liſtleſs and inactive life, to ſue for death at the hands of his friends.

" With all this ferocity of ſpirit, the rude nations of the Weſt were ſubdued by the policy and more regular warfare of the Romans. The point of honour which the barbarians of Europe adopted as individuals, expoſed them to a peculiar diſadvantage, by rendering them, even in their national wars, averſe to aſſailing their enemy by ſurpriſe, or taking the benefit of a ſtratagem ; and though ſeparately bold and intrepid, yet, like other rude nations, they were, when aſſembled in great bodies,

addicted

addicted to ſuperſtition, and ſubject to panicks.

" Diſpoſed to conſider every event as a judgment of the gods, they were never qualified, by an uniform application of prudence, to make the moſt of their forces, to repair their misfortunes, or to improve their advantages.*

" Reſigned to the government of affection and paſſion, they were generous and faithful, where they had fixed an attachment ; implacable, froward, and cruel, where they had conceived a diſlike. Addicted to debauchery, and the immoderate uſe of intoxicating liquors, they deliberated on the affairs of ſtate in the heat of their riot ; and in the ſame dangerous moments conceived the deſigns of military enterpriſe, or terminated their domeſtick diſſenſions by the dagger or the ſword.

" In their wars they preferred death to captivity. The victorious armies of the Romans, in entering a town by aſſault, or in forcing an encampment, have found the mother in the act of deſtroying her children, that they might not be taken ; and the dagger of the parent, red with the blood of

* Mr. Ferguſon ſpeaks here of the barbarous nations conquered by the Romans. A regular ſyſtem of politicks was formed with their ſettlements.

of his family, ready to be plunged at laſt into his own breaſt.

" In all theſe particulars we perceive that vigour of ſpirit, which renders diſorder itſelf reſpectable, and which qualifies men, if fortunate in their ſituation, to lay the baſis of domeſtick liberty, as well as to maintain againſt foreign enemies their national independence and freedom."

ELEMENTS

ELEMENTS

OF

GENERAL HISTORY.

MODERN HISTORY.

DESIGN *of this Part of* GENERAL HISTORY.

ALMOST the whole of this work will be taken up with the Hiſtory of Europe, into which we ſhall introduce nothing but what is neceſſary to be known, in order to direct us in the particular ſtudy of nations. A few glances occaſionally thrown upon the other quarters, will give the general ideas neceſſary to fix the judgment with regard to the ſtate of the world. Let us haſtily run

over the firſt ages; for in the darkneſs of barbariſm, it is almoſt ſufficient to obſerve the original of things. Let us trace the principal events in ſucceſſion without ſervilely confining ourſelves to chronological order, whence would rather ſpring confuſion than clearneſs. It is of importance to know, not the preciſe date of facts, but their connexion with mankind, and with the good or ill fortune of ſociety.

The order of things is, doubtleſs, preferable to that of times; and from the immenſe crowd of materials, thoſe only are to be ſelected, from which we can draw information. Truth and utility are the end of our ſtudies.

In the firſt part of this work we have traced the hiſtory of the Roman empire to the time of Mahomet; we have ſeen the conqueſts and firſt ſettlements of the Barbarians, particularly the Oſtrogoths in Italy, and the revolutions they met with in the reign of Juſtinian. We ſhall here go back beyond the period to which we came down; but without repetition, only becauſe the order of the tranſactions ſeems to require it.

FIRST

FIRST EPOCHA.

FOUNDATION *of the* FRENCH GOVERNMENT.—BARBARISM *ſpread through* EUROPE, *from* CLOVIS *to* CHARLEMAGNE *including about three Centuries.*

CHAP. I.

FRENCH MONARCHY *till the Time that the* MAYORS *of the* PALACE *acquired Abſolute Dominion.*

THIS multitude of barbarous nations, iſſuing from Germany, and eſtabliſhing themſelves on the ruins of the Weſtern Empire, had every where brought with them the ſame fund of character, the ſame barbariſm, and nearly the ſame cuſtoms. They were unſkilled in the arts of peace, breathed only war, and their laws were filled with abuſes. Their kings were, properly ſpeaking, only generals; their magiſtrates, ignorant warriors; and their national aſſemblies, a body of ſoldiers, rapacious and impetuous. If then they were not governed by a ſucceſſion of great men, who are always uncommon, even among poliſhed nations, they muſt remain the longer unjuſt and ferocious; as in the

General idea of the Barbarians who had deſtroyed the empire.

conquered provinces they found fewer examples of humanity and juſtice, fewer principles and morals. Had not the Romans ſtrangely degenerated, they would either have vanquiſhed or civilized their conquerors.

Their ſettlements in Gaul.

The Viſigoths had ſeized upon Spain, and a great part of Gaul. The Burgundians occupied vaſt provinces between the Saône, the Rhône, and the Alps; the Francks, or French, already maſters of Tournay, and the banks of the Scheld, had extended themſelves to the Somme, which waters Picardy; the Armoricans, between the Seine, the Loire, and the ocean, formed a ſpecies of independent republick. There remained to the Romans only Belgick Gaul, where their general Syagrius affected royal power, when Clovis, ſon of king Childerick, at the age of nineteen, defeated Syagrius near Soiſſons, drove out the Romans, and, by that victory, ſtrengthened the foundations of the French monarchy.

Year of J.C. 486. Clovis victorious over the Romans.

His policy to win the affections of the Gauls.

His ambition, which was equal to his valour, ſoon inſpired the deſign of increaſing his power on every ſide, in which politicks were no leſs ſerviceable to him than arms. The Gauls deteſted the Roman yoke, and were ſtrongly attached to Chriſtianity; he therefore won their affections by treating them with mildneſs reſpecting their religion, and favouring their biſhops. His marriage with Clotilda, niece of Gondebald, king of Burgunday, made them entertain hopes, that he would abjure idolatry for the Chriſtian faith; to which he was gradually reconciled by the exhortations of that pious princeſs, and only objected

He marries Clotilda.

jected the attachment of the Francks to their worſhip. But having defeated the Alemains at Tolbiack, near Cologne, and attributing his victory to the God of Clotilda, whom he had invoked in that dangerous fight, he cauſed himſelf to be baptized by St. Remi, biſhop of Reims, and the greater part of his countrymen followed his example. A ſucceſsful and prudent chief eaſily perſuaded thoſe uncultivated minds. From this time he ſhewed great zeal for the true religion, which became extremely uſeful to his deſigns. The Armoricans voluntarily ſubmitted. The title of Catholick made him beloved by the remains of the Gauls, becauſe the Burgundians and Viſigoths were Arians. But the Chriſtianity and orthodoxy of the Francks may be eſtimated by their profound ignorance. All religion was almoſt reduced to words without ideas, or ſuperſtitious obſervances without virtues, of which we ſhall ſee but too many proofs. Gondebald, by murdering his brothers, and uſurping their dominions, furniſhed the ambitious conqueror with a pretence for a war: Accordingly Clovis, in conjunction with his brother in law Theodorick, the great king of Italy, undertook to dethrone him; and, without waiting for the Oſtrogoths, actually ſtripped him of his dominions; part of which were ceded to Theodorick, agreeably to ſtipulation. But repenting that he had thus augmented the power of a neighbour more dangerous than Gondebald, he determined to reſtore the latter to his kingdom, and gave up the entire conqueſt. A more prudent politician

496. He turns Chriſtian after the battle of Tolbiack.

Fruitleſs war againſt Gondebald, king of Burgundy.

tician would not have undertaken a war, from which he was to draw no profit.

Clovis attacks the king of the Viſigoths, under pretence of religion.

Being reſolved to ſeize the dominions of Alarick, king of the Viſigoths, who poſſeſſed the countries between the Rhône and the Loire, Clovis covered his ambitious deſign under the maſk of religion, and continually exclaimed againſt the horrid impiety of ſuffering Arians to reign in Gaul. Though Alarick was no perſecutor, Clovis was favoured by the Catholick biſhops of that country; and it may be obſerved, that, even at ſo early a period, the clergy had as great a ſhare in the political revolutions among the barbarous nations, as they had at Rome and Conſtantinople. Clovis crowned the wiſhes of his party by the battle of Vouille, near Poitiers, in 507, where the king of the Viſigoths was ſlain; after which the Francks ſeized upon ſeveral provinces, and Gondebald his ally in this expedition, laid ſiege to the town of Arles.

Theodorick ſaves part of that kingdom.

Theodorick ſent an army to the aſſiſtance of the Viſigoths; for the attention of that great prince was neceſſarily rouſed by the dangers with which his countrymen were threatened. The united forces of Clovis and Gondebald were defeated, and Theodorick continued in poſſeſſion of Provence, the Narbonnoiſe, and part of Acquitaine. He excelled all the kings of Europe in wiſdom and power; but I have made the reader acquainted with him in another place, and muſt not uſe repetitions. (*Vid. Rom. Hiſt.*)

511. Cruelties and death of Clovis.

Clovis diſhonoured the latter part of his reign by atrocious acts of treachery and cruelty to his own

own relations, whom he ſtripped of their poſſeſſions: At the ſame time he built churches and monaſteries, doubtleſs, from a perſuaſion that the divine laws, like thoſe of the Barbarians, admitted a pecuniary compenſation for every crime. He died in 511, after a council of Orleans, to which he himſelf had ſent the rules for the ſettlement of diſcipline.

Regulation for the admiſſion of clerks.

One of the principal regulations was, that no layman, except the deſcendants of clerks, ſhould enter into orders without the king's command, or permiſſion from the judge. The ſame precautions had been taken by Conſtantine to prevent the body of the clergy from being made up of men neceſſary for the ſervice of the ſtate; but the privileges conferred upon that order attracted too great numbers, and the law was ill obſerved.

The dominions of Clovis divided among his four ſons.

The dominions of Clovis were ſhared among his four ſons, Thierry, Clodomir, Childebert, and Clotaire; and the monarchy was unhappily diſmembered into four kingdoms: Auſtraſia or Metz, Orleans, Paris, and Soiſſons. This diviſion infallibly produced civil wars. When the intereſts of the brothers were different, they became enemies. The moſt horrid acts of barbarity grew common. Sigiſmond, ſon of Gondebald, was maſſacred with his wife and children, by order of Clodomir; and thus ended a war between theſe two princes. After the death of Clodomir, two of his ſons were ſtabbed by their uncle Clotaire, who united with Childebert to deprive them of their inheritance. The hiſtory of theſe times, filled with acts of cruelty and treachery,

Their barbarities.

treachery, or ſtuffed with ridiculous fables, offers nothing intereſting, except a picture of the ancient manners.

Theodobert, a celebrated king of Auſtraſia.

Theodobert, ſon and ſucceſſor of Thierry, king of Auſtraſia, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſuperiour abilities and great enterpriſes. He made himſelf reſpected by his uncles, who were tempted by their ambition to dethrone him; but afterwards united with them, in order to conquer the kingdom of Burgundy, which had been founded about a century before. This important acquiſition was followed by an embaſſy from the emperour Juſtinian, inviting the kings of France to join in a league againſt the Oſtrogoths. Amalaſonté, the worthy daughter of Theodorick, had governed them with great prudence, in the name of her ſon Athalarick. Theodatus, ſucceſſor of the laſt, had been dethroned for cowardice, during the expedition of Beliſarius into Italy (for the Barbarians aſſumed the right of taking away, as well as of conferring, the crown, and were particularly deſirous of having valiant kings). Vitiges, elected in the room of Theodatus, negociated with the French, who, though already in alliance with the emperour, without ſcruple accepted his offers and his money. Theodobert croſſed the Alps with a numerous army, attacked the Oſtrogoths and Romans indifferently, every where routed them with great ſlaughter, and returned into his own dominions. Such was the good faith of thoſe warriors who were fond of rapine, and thought every thing lawful if their injuſtice was crowned with ſucceſs.

534. Conqueſt of the kingdom of Burgundy.

The French treacherous allies of the Romans and Oſtrogoths.

Several

Several years after, an army belonging to Theodobert conquered Venetia, and part of Liguria, while, in 547, Totila revived the power of the Oſtrogoths. But this conqueſt was fruitleſs, the French monarch dying before it could be firmly ſecured. Under kings like him, the monarchy of Clovis might have ſwallowed up the neighbouring ſtates.

A ſecond expedition into Italy.

Men deſtitute of the power of reflection can reap no inſtruction from experience. The numerous misfortunes already occaſioned by a diviſion of the kingdom, did not prevent a like diſmemberment, accompanied by the ſame calamities, from taking place after the death of Clotaire I. ſole ſucceſſor of his brethren and nephews. Caribert, Gontran, Sigebert, and Chilperick, his ſons, ſhared his dominions by lot; and though the kingdom of Paris fell to Caribert, it was agreed, that all ſhould have a common right to that city, which Clovis had made his capital, and that none of them ſhould be permitted to enter it without the conſent of the three others. So whimſical an agreement was a ſource of civil wars. Every thing concurred to enhance the miſery of the nation.

562. Diviſion of the monarchy into four parts after the death of Clotaire I.

France was torn in pieces by the ſanguinary ambition of two women, who rather deſerved the epithet of furies than the title of queens. Theſe were Brunehaut and Fredegonda: The one, a princeſs of Spain, had married Sigebert, king of Auſtraſia; the other, at firſt miſtreſs of Chilperick, king of Soiſſons, had prevailed on him to eſpouſe her after divorcing his wife. Their mutual hatred, and uncontrolled influence

Brunehaut and Fredegonda rival furies.

ence over their huſbands, gave birth to numberleſs crimes, equally fatal to the people and the royal family. Sigebert was murdered by Fredegonda's emiſſaries, while he was beſieging Chilperick in Tournay. A cruel ſtepmother, ſhe afterwards ſacrificed her huſband's children by the firſt marriage. Brunehaut, on her part, breathing vengeance, armed the princes, and fanned the flames of civil war. But at laſt, falling into the hands of Clotaire, the ſon of Fredegonda, ſhe was condemned to the moſt horrid torments, as guilty of the death of ten kings, or children of kings. Pope Gregory beſtows encomiums on this princeſs, becauſe ſhe ſhewed herſelf zealous, and liberal to the church.

Gontran, king of Burgundy, too much commended by cotemporary hiſtorians.

Gontran, king of Orleans and Burgundy, who died in 593, had changed ſides, as whim or conjunctures ſhifted: A pious, but ignorant prince, laviſh to the church, and blindly ſubmiſſive to the biſhops; weakly yielding where firmneſs was neceſſary: Violent and cruel where he ought to have uſed moderation; and too highly celebrated in our ancient annals, becauſe their authors judged of every thing, even of virtue, by the prejudices of their age. This mild prince had ſworn to put his phyſicians to death, if they did not cure the queen, who was dangerouſly ill. She died, and they were executed. Several other examples of the ſame kind are quoted, but Gontran's devotion apologized for every thing.

613. Clotaire II. ſole king.

Clotaire II. ſon of Chilperick and Fredegonda, was ſole king, after maſſacring a multitude of princes. He reſtored tranquillity, gained the hearts

hearts of his ſubjects, and ſecured the attachment of the great by increaſing their power; he committed the government of Auſtraſia and Burgundy to the mayors of the palace, who, from that period, being conſtituted a kind of viceroys, and acquiring every day additional power, opened from far a path to the crown. Theſe officers, who were judges in the palace, becoming the miniſters of princes, and arbitrators of the government, ſoon acted as ſovereigns under kings who had neither ſtrength nor talents to reduce them to their duty.

Mayors of the palace.

The royal authority was weakened, while it was diſgraced, by the vices of Dagobert, ſon of Clotaire, and the impoſitions with which he loaded his people, either to ſupply his debaucheries, or, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, to expiate their guilt by pious profuſions. His two ſons Sigebert II. and Clovis II. were incapable of every thing but building new convents, and employing their time in trifles. All affairs were tranſacted by the mayors; and after the death of thoſe princes, Grimoald, mayor of Auſtraſia, ventured to ſet his own ſon upon the throne. The uſurper was driven out, but the example of the uſurpation prognoſticated new attempts. And what barriers could be oppoſed to them by the name of the king, which was nothing but a name?

Their power increaſed under Dagobert and his ſucceſſors.

The mayor Ebroin having placed Thierry III. one of the ſons of Clovis II. upon the throne of Auſtraſia, without conſulting the nobility, they ſhaved that prince, and confined him in a cloiſter: But he was reſtored after the death of his

Auſtraſia, oppreſſed by the mayor Ebroin, deſtroys regal government.

his brother Childerick, who fell by aſſaſſins. Meantime Auſtraſia, being oppreſſed by Ebroin, revolted, and choſe dukes or independent governours. Pepin Heriſtel, who was worthy of the publick confidence, there exerciſed the ſupreme power, and Thierry, ſole king of France, having provoked his reſentment, was defeated and taken priſoner. Pepin, now maſter of the whole kingdom, under the title of Mayor, governed twenty ſeven years with equal prudence and courage. The kings were at this time only ornamented phantoms, occaſionally ſhewn to the people. The ſurname of *idle* expreſſes their weakneſs and ſtupid inactivity. By reſtoring the ancient aſſemblies of the nation, the uſe of which had been interrupted by the deſpotiſm of the mayors; particularly, by turning the impetuous fire of the French againſt foreign enemies, over whom he was always victorious; Pepin enjoyed a power hitherto unknown in the monarchy.

Duke Pepin its governour, becomes maſter of the monarchy.

714. Succeeded in his whole power by his ſon Charles Martel.

After the death of this great man, the authority fell into the hands of his widow Plectrude, whoſe grandſon, ſtill an infant, was mayor; for Pepin wanted to make an office which was equivalent to royalty, hereditary in his family. Charles Martel, his ſon by a concubine, was arreſted on ſuſpicion of being diſaffected to the new government; but the nation ſoon grew weary of obeying a woman, and elected a mayor, named Rainfroy. Charles had made his eſcape to Auſtraſia, where the people received him as a deliverer; and Rainfroy, being deſirous of bringing them under the yoke,

yoke, more than once felt, in conjunction with king Chilperick II. the invincible ſuperiority of that hero. Charles Martel, after the example of his father, ſeized upon the whole authority, and was worthy of enjoying it. A wiſe and vigorous government, continual victories, in a word, the glory and proſperity of the ſtate, were his beſt titles. Had it not been for him, France would have been ſubjected to the Muſſulmen, who were already maſters of Spain.

CHAP. II.

SARACENS *conquer* SPAIN.——*Defeated by* CHARLES MARTEL *in* FRANCE.

State of the kingdom of the Viſigoths in Spain.

OUR attention is here attracted by the hiſtory of Spain. From the time that the Viſigoths had eſtabliſhed their monarchy in that province, which had before been conquered from the Romans by the Vandals, their clergy were generally more abſolute than their princes, who conſequently, ſcarce deſerve to be named.

Power of the clergy.

Almoſt all cauſes were brought by appeal before the biſhops court, who frequently determined the affairs of the nation in the great council. In conjunction with the nobility, among whom they held the firſt rank, they even diſpoſed of the crown, which was rather elective than hereditary.

Frequent revolutions.

That kingdom was a theatre of revolutions and acts of guilt. The number of kings murdered

murdered ſtrikes us with horrour. The Barbarians, after their eſtabliſhment, contracted new vices, and their ferocity became more ſanguinary. To what crimes muſt not even ſelf intereſt have prompted them? Let us only point out the principal reigns in which are found ſome memorable facts.

Principal reigns.

Levigild. Levigild, who died in 585, is celebrated for his victories over the Suevi, whoſe dominions he conquered; and his harſh treatment of his ſon Hermenigild, whom he perſecuted to death, becauſe he had embraced the catholick religion.

Recaredo. Yet his other ſon Recaredo, who ſucceeded him, abjured Arianiſm, and that ſect was perſecuted in its turn. The ſpirit of perſecution prevailed more in Spain than any other country. In 612,

Siſebut. Siſebut obliged the Jews, under pain of death, to receive baptiſm; though he was a prudent prince in other reſpects, and by his valour, deprived the eaſtern emperours of their remaining poſſeſſions in that kingdom, on the coaſt of the

Chintila. Mediterranean. Chintila baniſhed all the Jews; and it was decreed by a council, that no prince could aſcend the throne till he had ſworn to obſerve the laws enacted againſt that unhappy people: The inquiſition ſeems already riſing.

Receſuinth. Under Receſuinth, the election of kings was veſted, by a decree of council, ſolely in the biſhops and palatines (the palatines were the principal officers of the crown.) By this regulation, the body of the nation loſt one of its

Wamba. moſt valuable privileges. Wamba, after defeating the Saracens, who had invaded Spain, was poiſoned by the ambitious Erwigo, and excluded

excluded from the throne in 682, becauſe, in a fit of weakneſs, to which he had been reduced by a diſtemper, he was clothed in the habit of a penitent: An odious attempt, the firſt of its kind, and which gave a diſtant prognoſtick of the clergy's future enterpriſes. Erwigo was confirmed in the ſovereignty by a council. In another, held during his reign, kings were forbidden to marry the widows of kings, under pain of damnation. From this ſingle canon, we may judge of the ſpirit of the legiſlation. In 710, a civil war was raiſed by the cruelties and diſorders of Witiza, who permitted clerks to marry, and laymen to keep as many concubines as they pleaſed. That prince was dethroned by Roderick or Roderigo, who was himſelf dethroned by a people at that time reſiſtleſs.

Erwigo.

Witiza.

Roderick.

At the concluſion of the Roman hiſtory, we gave an account of the eſtabliſhment of Mahometiſm; a religion which rouſed the ſpirit of conqueſt by fanaticiſm, and ſtrengthened the ſpirit of fanaticiſm by conqueſt. Mahomet, its author, died in 633, and ſoon after the empire of the Arabians, or Saracens, extended over immenſe countries in Aſia and Africa. The Koran, ſupported by their arms, ſeemed ready to ſtretch its empire over the whole world.

Progreſs of Mahometiſm.

It is ſaid, that Count Julian, enraged at Roderick having diſhonoured his daughter, invited them himſelf to invade the kingdom of Spain. But this fact is not authenticated by ancient monuments. After all, it would only be one example more of the revolutions occaſioned

The Saracens, or Moors conquer Spain.

sioned by the vices of princes. The Saracens, at that time masters of Mauritania, whence they have got the name of Moors, poured into Spain, and in 712 gained the decisive battle of Xeres in Andalusia, after which, the king of the Visigoths for ever disappeared. Mousa, who commanded in Africa, as viceroy for the Calif Walid, immediately came into that country to complete the conquest. According to the prudent policy of his sect, he offered to grant the inhabitants the exercise of their religion and their laws, contenting himself with the same tribute which they paid to their sovereigns. The greatest part of the towns voluntarily admitted him: The others he plundered and burned. Oppas, archbishop of Seville, uncle of Witiza's children, was not ashamed to fight for the Mussulmen, and sacrifice his country and religion to his hatred against Roderick. But Pelagio, a hero of the blood royal, retired into the mountains of the Asturias and Burgos, followed by a multitude of Christians, and there founded a little kingdom, where he maintained himself by his valour. After his death, Alphonso, his son in law, mounted the throne, and enlarged his territories, by taking advantage of the civil wars which soon divided the conquerors.

712. Battle of Xeres.

Treaty of Oppas.

Pelagio takes refuge in the Austurias.

Meantime, their ambition scorning to be restrained within the limits of the Pyrennées, they attacked Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, a descendant from the family of Clovis, though at first without success. But Abderaman, the new emir or governour of Spain, made a second invasion with superiour forces, and penetrated as far

732. Charles Martel defeats the Moors, who attempted to conquer France.

far as Sens; but being repulſed by the biſhop Ebbo, he poured with his forces into Aquitaine, defeated the duke, and advanced to the heart of the kingdom. Charles Martel was deſtined to ſtop the courſe of that torrent. France owed its preſervation to a bloody battle fought between Poitiers and Tours, in which Abderaman was ſlain, and the Saracens are ſaid to have loſt upwards of three hundred thouſand men. But ſuch exaggerations do not deſerve a place in hiſtory. The enemy, notwithſtanding their defeat, kept a footing for ſome years in Provence and Languedock, whence they were at laſt driven by the hero of France.

Spain at firſt unhappy under their dominion.

Spain was, at firſt, unhappy under the dominion of the Moors. The emirs being dependants on the viceroys of Africa, who ſuffered them to continue but a ſhort time in office, were more eager to exhauſt the provinces, than to make juſtice and good order flouriſh in them. The civil wars were kindled; and not only were the Califs, whoſe court was at Damaſcus, at too great a diſtance to appeaſe the diſturbances, but the enterpriſes of the factious were favoured by the troubles excited by the Califate itſelf. In the year 750, this great dignity, in which the royal and ſacerdotal honours were united, was transferred from the houſe of Mooawigah to that of Abbas. The revolution was bloody, and produced another truly advantageous to Spain, which it delivered from oppreſſion.

750. Revolution in the Califate.

Kingdom of the Moors in Spain, founded by Abderaman.

Prince Abderaman, who is likewiſe named Almanzor, having eſcaped from the maſſacre of his family, came and laid the foundations of

or Almanzor.

an independent kingdom in that country. Being proclaimed king after a victory, he ſubdued all the provinces, except what Pelagio and Alphonſo had conquered or preſerved. He fixed his reſidence at Cordova, which he made the ſeat of the arts, magnificence, and pleaſure. Without perſecuting the Chriſtians, he unhappily found means almoſt totally to extirpate chriſtianity, by depriving them of biſhops, reſerving favours and dignities for the followers of Mahomet, or by intermarriages. No prince in Europe equalled him in politicks, as no people equalled the Arabians in whatever did honour to the human underſtanding. Though formerly enemies of reaſon and the ſciences, they had learnt to cultivate them, and ſucceeded in ſeveral branches, while other nations were degraded by barbarous ignorance. But this is not the place to treat ſuch a ſubject at length.

Glorious reign of that prince.

We have anticipated a little upon the order of time, that we might not mix diſſimilar ſubjects: A different method would confound our ideas, and tire the memory.

Charles Martel ſuffers the throne to continue vacant.

After the defeat of the Saracens, Charles Martel, equally politick and brave, and more powerful with the plain title of mayor than any king in Europe, continually increaſed the glory of the French name. The throne becoming vacant in 737, by the death of Thierry IV. he exerciſed the ſovereign authority with the title of duke; not deigning to make a king, nor affecting a name which would have added nothing to his power. He had reſtored Aquitaine to Harald, ſon of Eudes, reſerving to himſelf

himſelf and poſterity the rights of ſovereignty, and was preparing to paſs into Italy, whither pope Gregory III. invited him from motives of policy, offering to acknowledge him conſul of Rome; but he died in 741, before he put that ſcheme in execution. He had appointed Carloman, one of his ſons, to ſucceed him in Auſtraſia; and to the other, Pepin the Short, he bequeathed Neuſtria, or weſtern France and Burgundy. The memory of Charles has been blackened by eccleſiaſtical authors, who could not pardon this great man for having granted to the nobles the uſufruct of ſeveral church lands, to enable them to perform their military ſervices. How could they forget that, by his arms, both the church and kingdom had been preſerved from the Mahometan yoke? We ſhall ſoon have an opportunity to examine the motives of their animoſity.

741. He dies, and leaves the monarchy to his two ſons.

The memory of Charles blackened by the clergy.

Carloman turned monk, after having ſignalized his courage in Germany; and his retreat threw the whole power into the hands of Pepin, who aſpired to the throne, though he had cauſed a Childerick II. to be proclaimed; but this prince is not ſo much as named in the annals of thoſe times. The pope, who wanted his aſſiſtance againſt the Greek emperour and the Lombards, artfully ſeconded his ambitious views. We are now arrived at the proper period for taking a review of Italy, Rome, and Conſtantinople, whoſe ſituation at this juncture gave riſe to very important events.

Carloman turns monk, and leaves his brother Pepin ſole maſter.

CHAP. III.

State of the Kingdom of the LOMBARDS *and Conſtantinopolitan Empire.*—INTRIGUES *of the* POPES.—*Family of* CLOVIS *dethroned by* PEPIN.

State of the kingdom of the Lombards after Alboinus.

WE have ſeen Alboinus found the kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, ſoon after Juſtinian's generals had broken the Gothick power in that country. This new dominion was aggrandized by the arms, and ſecured by the wiſdom, of ſeveral princes. Autharick, their third king, reſtored happineſs to his ſubjects, after they had been dreadfully convulſed by ten years of anarchy. By the influence of his wife Theodolinda, a princeſs of Bavaria, he was converted to Chriſtianity, but, like moſt of the Barbarians, embraced the Arian ſect: The Lombards conformed to the tenets of their prince, yet the Catholicks enjoyed entire liberty, and the throne ſeemed ſtill to be filled by the great Theodorick. It is ſurpriſing that St. Gregory ſhould, notwithſtanding, affirm, that God ſhortened the days of the curſed Autharick (*nefandiſſimus*) becauſe he prohibited the Lombard children from being baptized in the Catholick religion. Might he not, on the contrary, have been commended for ſuffering the Catholicks to enjoy their religion in peace? But zeal, eſpecially in ages of ignorance, paints ſome ob-

Autharick turns Chriſtian; his wiſe government.

jects

jects in far different colours from those in which they are seen by an impartial spectator.

Agilulf, Autharick's successor, a courageous prince, attempted the conquest of Rome; but Gregory, by his negotiations and presents, saved the city. Theodolinda had married Agilulf, and, carrying on a correspondence with the pope, inspired her second husband with sentiments of orthodoxy, which she could never prevail upon the first to adopt. Through almost all Europe we see the queens changing the ruling religion, and serving as apostles in the courts. Their sex rendered them most susceptible of lively impressions of the Christian faith, and best fitted for communicating them by sentiment.

Agilulf attempts the conquest of Rome.

Converted to the catholick religion by his wife.

Rothar eclipsed the glory of his predecessors, by giving the Lombards written laws, which were established in a general assembly in 643. He professed Arianism, but with such moderation, that in most cities there were two bishops, one Arian, the other Catholick; an example of toleration no where to be equalled at that period.

Rothar legislator of his kingdom.

Under Luitprand, whose reign began in 712, the nation submitted to the Catholick doctrines. This prince's wisdom is particularly manifested by one of his laws, where he blames the ridiculous custom of duels, *by which*, says he, *it is endeavoured to force the Deity to discover the truth at the pleasure of human caprice:* Adding, that he tolerated the abuse, *because the Lombards were too much attached to them.* Among the Barbarians, almost all causes were decided by duels.

Luitprand.

His law concerning duels.

Luitprand,

The Greek empire weakened every day, though the Saracens were ſubjected to a tribute.

Luitprand, active, prudent, and courageous, deſired to connect his own grandeur with the good of his ſubjects; an opportunity for which was furniſhed by the weakneſs of the Conſtantinopolitan empire, and the pernicious conduct of that court. The ſuperſtitious ideas of the Greeks always influenced their publick affairs. Conſtantinople had been ſeveral times beſieged by the Saracens; but their fleets being conſumed by the wild fire which burned under water (an invention of the engineer Callinicus), they had been reduced, under the reign of Conſtantine Pogonatus, to conclude a truce of thirty years, during which they were to pay a tribute.

The princes and people blinded by ſuperſtition.

The ſixth general council, held in 680, by condemning the errours of monotheliſm, ſeemed to bid fair for putting an end to religious quarrels. This was a double advantage for the Greeks, could they have profited by it; but nothing could cure the nation of its prejudices and bigotry. One party wanted to crown the two brothers of Conſtantine Pogonatus, becauſe *there ought to be three emperours, as there are three perſons in the Trinity*. The people reaſoned and acted in a manner altogether incomprehenſible. This ridiculous ſpirit prevailed under Juſtinian II. who imprudently broke the truce with the Saracens; under Philip Bardanes, who revived monotheliſm, and condemned the ſixth council; under Anaſtaſius II. and Theodoſius III. who both turned monks: And laſtly, under Leo the Iſaurian, who, by a new hereſy, kindled freſh troubles more fatal to the empire than the preceding.

In

In 727, Leo proſcribed the worſhip of images; a worſhip pious and uſeful in itſelf, but groſsly abuſed by the blind credulity of the people, and which that very credulity would neceſſarily prompt them to defend with enthuſiaſm. Inſtead of pointing out the abuſes to the people, they were deprived of the objects of their veneration and confidence. The paintings were defaced and the ſtatues were broken, after it had in vain been forbidden to pay them honours. Seditions and revolts became univerſal; the vulgar attached religion to thoſe ſenſible objects, by ſuppoſing them always poſſeſſed of ſome miraculous virtue. The greateſt part of the prieſts, eſpecially the monks, being intereſted in their preſervation, abandoned themſelves to a zeal equally turbulent and contagious. Conſtantine Copronymus, ſon of Leo, exceeded the violences of his father, and met with invincible reſiſtance, which by perſecution was changed into madneſs. The Iconoclaſts *(breakers of images)* were looked upon with horrour by the multitude. The Arians, who attacked the divinity of Jeſus Chriſt, had not been more odious to the Catholicks.

Hereſy of the Iconoclaſts under Leo the Iſaurian,

ſtirs up ſeditions.

"*What made the quarrel on the ſubject of* "*images ſo fierce,*" ſays Monteſquieu, "*was its* "*connexion with things of a very delicate na-*" *ture: Power was at ſtake; and the monks* "*having uſurped it, they could neither increaſe* "*nor ſupport it, except by making continual ad-*" *ditions to the ceremonial, of which they them-*" *ſelves conſtituted a part. For this reaſon they* "*always looked upon the war againſt images* "*as*

The monks ſtirred up the people to revolt.

" *as actually made againſt themſelves, and, when* " *once they had carried this point, their power* " *was boundleſs.*" (Grand. and Dec. of Rom. ch. xxii.) It is true, that the Eaſtern monks, who in general were ſeditious and fanaticks, fanned the fire of rebellion: Their falſe zeal was evidently excited by intereſt more than any other motive; but from what madneſs did the emperours always furniſh fuel for the conflagration?

The ferment equally great in Italy.

The Italians were not the leaſt zealous defenders of images, and openly rebelled againſt the edicts. Rome, Naples, and the other cities dependent on the empire, began to look upon their ſovereign only as an abominable heretick. Ravenna, capital of the Exarchate, became a theatre of diſturbances and inſurrections. Luitprand, dexterouſly taking advantage of the conjunctures, beſieged that city, and made himſelf maſter of it in 728; after which he took a number of other places, and was on the point of ſubduing the reſt of Italy. The anathemas thundered againſt the Iconoclaſts made the people ready to ſhake off the yoke of Conſtantinople. Pentapolis, in the neighbourhood of Ravenna, under which were comprehended the towns of Peſaro, Rimini, Fano, Ancona, and Uniena, had declared that the cauſe of the pope was the cauſe of the province, and that the Exarch and his adherents being excommunicated, the ſtates ſhould proceed to the election of Catholick governours. In a word, the people ſeemed already fully reſolved to create a chief, that is, an emperour.

Luitprand takes Ravenna and ſeveral other towns.

Though

Though Rome was governed by dukes who depended on the Exarchs of Ravenna, the principal authority was veſted in the popes; for which they were leſs indebted to their great riches, than to the reſpect for their See inſpired by religion, and the confidence repoſed in them by the people. St. Gregory had negotiated and treated with the princes in ſeveral affairs of ſtate, and his ſucceſſors divided their cares between the concerns of their biſhoprick and thoſe of politicks. Could it be otherwiſe, when the ſpiritual duties were joined to ſecular intereſts? The popes were equally concerned to free themſelves from the dominion of the emperours, and oppoſe the enterpriſes of the kings of Italy; they therefore took every method to gain theſe two points: They employed artifice and religion, and by thoſe means acquired ſovereign power. Of all human works this is perhaps the moſt worthy of attentive curioſity, whether we conſider its nature, its progreſs, or its amazing conſequences.

The popes already very powerful at Rome,

and employed in politicks.

Gregory II. dreading above all things a neighbour like Luitprand, declared in favour of the emperour Leo, and called upon the Venetians for aſſiſtance. That republick, which in ſome meaſure owed its birth to the panick raiſed by Attila, was grown conſiderable from the courage and induſtry of its inhabitants. The Lombards were driven out of Ravenna; yet Leo appearing no leſs zealous againſt images, nor leſs exaſperated againſt the pontiff than before, his violent behaviour determined the Romans to revolt, and they acknowledged the pope

Gregory II. cauſes the Lombards to be driven out of Ravenna.

pope for their ſole head. Gregory II. always an enemy of the Lombards, ſtrove to draw upon them the arms of Charles Martel, who was their ally; but the negotiation did not ſucceed. It was renewed by Gregory III. who made more advantageous offers, and at laſt won over the hero; but the execution of the enterpriſe was ſuſpended by the death of Charles. Luitprand yielded to the inſtances of the new pope Zachary, and even reſtored to him four towns of the duchy of Rome which he had ſeized. In 744 this prince ended in peace a reign equally long and glorious.

Gregory III. and Zachary purſue the ſame views.

Death of Luitprand.

His ſucceſſor Ratchis ſuffered himſelf again to be diſarmed by the pope at the ſiege of Peruſia. Such was the influence of the pontifical dignity, that, after an interview with Zachary, that prince not only raiſed the ſiege, but gave himſelf up entirely to religious impreſſions, and even put on the monkiſh habit. Meantime Zachary's ſituation between the Greeks and the Lombards was ſtill alarming and dangerous. He therefore thought, as his predeceſſors had done, of ſecuring to himſelf the aſſiſtance of France, and ſupplying by policy thoſe reſources which his ſtrength denied him: His hopes were confirmed by ſetting in motion the ſprings of religion.

Ratchis his ſucceſſor turns monk, after an interview with the pope.

750. Deciſion of Zachary in favour of Pepin, who deſires to be king.

In theſe conjunctures the ambitious Pepin, who unqueſtionably was acquainted with the pope's inclinations, propoſed to him a caſe of conſcience, which none had yet thought of ſubmitting to the deciſion of Rome. The queſtion was, who ought to bear the title of king,

king, a prince incapable of governing, or a miniſter veſted with the royal authority, which he exerciſed with honour? Zachary decided in favour of the ſubject againſt the lawful prince. The clergy favoured Pepin becauſe he reſtored to them part of the lands which had been taken from them by Charles Martel. His power and abilities made him reſpected by the nobility; and the nation deſpiſed inactive, obſcure kings, who were ſcarce known even by name. Thus the judgment of the pope removed every ſcruple. King Childerick was ſhaved, that is degraded, and ſhut up in a monaſtery, together with his ſon; Pepin was raiſed to the throne, and ſolemnly anointed at Soiſſons by St. Boniface, biſhop of Mentz, the famous miſſionary of the Germans, and one of his moſt uſeful adherents.

Pepin dethrones Childerick.

By this ceremony of unction, borrowed from the Jews, and till that time unknown to the French nation, a character of divinity ſeemed to be impreſſed on the perſon of the monarch. But as ignorance abuſes every thing, we ſhall find the biſhops ſoon imagine, that by performing the ceremony of inauguration they conferred the royal dignity; an opinion productive of the moſt dangerous conſequences. The emperours had for a long time cauſed themſelves to be crowned by the patriarchs of Conſtantinople; in the ſequel of this hiſtory, we ſhall in like manner ſee the popes crown the emperours of the Weſt. The coronation and unction will be ſuppoſed neceſſary to the ſovereign power, and on a pious ceremony the

Ceremony of unction, which was afterwards abuſed.

the clergy build a right of diſpoſing of kingdoms. It is proper to foreſee events from their origin.

752. Bold negotiation of Stephen III. with Pepin.

In a word, the political conduct of the popes was crowned with ſucceſs: The new king of France repaid their favours with uſury. Aiſtulf, or Aſtolpho, ſucceſſor of Ratchis, ſeized Ravenna, the whole Exarchate, with Pentapolis, and threatened the duchy of Rome. Zachary was now dead. Stephen III*. in vain demanded aſſiſtance from Conſtantine Copronymus, whoſe attention was entirely engroſſed with extirpating the worſhip of images. This emperour employed him to negotiate with Aiſtulf, or, if he found him untractable, to addreſs himſelf to the King of France. Stephen therefore ſet out, and arrived in that country, where, after repeating the ceremony of Pepin's inauguration, he created him and his ſons patricians of Rome; a title to which royalty is attached. In recompenſe, he obtained for the church of Rome a donation of the Exarchate with Pentapolis. "*This is one of thoſe facts*," ſays an eſtimable author, "*of which we meet with few examples* "*in hiſtory. An ambaſſadour employed to ne-* "*gotiate with a foreign prince for the preſer-* "*vation of part of his maſter's dominions,* "*divides the territory in queſtion into two* "*portions, and ſells the one to this foreign* "*prince,*

* Zachary had for his immediate ſucceſſor another Stephen, who died in three days after his election, before he was conſecrated. By ſome authors he is not reckoned among the popes, and they give the name of Stephen II, to him mentioned in the text.

"*prince, on condition of receiving the other him-*
"*ſelf when it ſhall be conquered.*" (*Abregé de l'Hiſt. d'Italie.*) But it muſt be acknowledged, that the primary fault was the emperour's abandoning the Romans.

Artful letter from the pope to engage Pepin in a war againſt the Lombards.

Pepin, without delay, paſſed the Alps, and Aiſtulf ſued for peace, which was granted; but as ſoon as the French were withdrawn, he broke the treaty, and laid ſiege to Rome. On this occaſion, Stephen wrote to his protector that famous letter, in the name of St. Peter, where, with no ſmall dexterity, he confounds all ideas, the ſacred with the profane, the wealth with the eſſence of the church, the intereſt of ſouls with the proſperity of the paſtors; and where, in recompenſe for carrying on a political war, he promiſes happineſs in this world and the next, not without threats of damnation in caſe ſuccours were denied. An artful language, which became but too common. To give to the church was giving to God, or to St. Peter; to diſpute any thing with the church, was attacking God, attacking St. Peter. Credulity and ſuperſtition lent ſuch ſtrength to ſophiſms of this kind, that they deſtroyed the natural order of ſociety.

755. Pepin gives the pope ſeveral towns which Aiſtulf had ſeized.

Pepin ſoon made his appearance again in Italy, when the emperour offered to defray the expenſes of the war, provided the laſt conqueſts of the Lombards were reſtored to the empire: But his anſwer was, that he had made a donation of thoſe lands to St. Peter, and would not revoke it for all the gold in the world. Aiſtulf, who was beſieged in Pavia, his

his capital, ſubmitted to the terms preſcribed him, and Pepin put the pope in poſſeſſion of Ravenna, Claſſé, Ceſarea, Rimini, Fano, Peſaro, Ceſena, Sinigaglia, Comacchio, Urbino, Forli, &c. reſerving the right of ſeignory over that ſtate, in quality of Roman patrician. Naples, which was governed by a duke, Gaeta, with the greateſt part of Calabria, the country of the Brutians, and ſome maritime towns, remained under the dominion of the emperour. Thus did the See of Rome profit at his expenſe, by the quarrel raiſed concerning the worſhip of images.

He reſerves the ſovereignty in quality of patrician.

763. Death of Pepin.

After an uninterrupted ſeries of victories, after ſubjecting the Saxons and Sclavonians to tribute, obliging the duke of Bavaria to take an oath of fidelity, and reuniting Aquitaine to the crown, Pepin died in the year 763, and the ſeventeenth of his reign, equally reſpected at home and abroad. He had never aimed at too abſolute power, but referred all affairs of importance to the aſſemblies of the nation, whoſe oracle he was from his prudence. By conſent of the nobility, he had divided his dominions between his two ſons, Charles and Carloman, the firſt of whom forms a great epocha in hiſtory. Let us ſtop a few moments to conſider the ſtate of Europe.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

General Observations.

I.

All the Barbarians who ſettled in the empire reſembled each other.

THE ancient Gauls, Germans, Britons, Scandinavians, and, in general, all the Celtick nations which overſpread Europe (for they are ſuppoſed, with great probability, to be of Celtick origin) nearly reſembled each other in the fundamentals of their government, manners, and opinions. This conformity is viſible in all the ſtates founded by the Barbarians, who diſmembered the vaſt empire of the Romans. Liberty and war were their ruling paſſions. From a perſuaſion that force gives every right, and that victory is a certain proof of juſtice, their ambition for conquering and ſpoiling their enemies, that is, thoſe whom they attacked, was equalled by their averſion from ſubmitting to the deſpotick will of a ſingle perſon. Even in ſubjection they maintained their freedom.

Their firſt government a military democracy.

Their primitive government was a kind of military democracy, under a general who had commonly the title of king. It was impoſſible, that this dignity could be hereditary among people whoſe views extended no farther than the preſent moment, and who wanted a chief capable of heading his army, and making himſelf obeyed. If found deſtitute of thoſe qualities,

ties, they in a ſhort time deprived him of that power which they had conferred. When a warrior diſtinguiſhed himſelf by eminent abilities, ſeveral others attached themſelves to him, and mutually engaged to fight in defence of one another. Each made it a duty to die for his chief, and it was reckoned cowardice to ſurvive him. Theſe aſſociations ſeem to have been the embryo of the feudal government.

Their kings were their generals.

All affairs of importance were debated in the national aſſemblies, in which thoſe warriors, with arms in their hands, ſenſible of their own ſtrength, and impatient of control, yielded only to the conviction that the meaſures propoſed were of real utility. In France, this aſſembly was firſt called the *Field of March*, becauſe it was held in an open field, in the month of March; it was afterwards named the *Field of May*, becauſe, when the uſe of cavalry became common, Pepin transferred it to the time when forage could be eaſily procured. Another, but leſs conſiderable, was held in autumn. The tribes, in proceſs of time, growing into nations, theſe aſſemblies neceſſarily took another form.

National aſſemblies.

When the Barbarians gained fixed ſettlements, the democracy was ſoon changed into a military ariſtocracy. The grandees, poſſeſſed of riches and large domains, had in their hands every means of reducing the lower rank to a ſtate of dependence. They engroſſed to themſelves the power which the body of the nation had formerly enjoyed. The common people were neglected and deſpiſed: The affairs of ſtate were regulated

After their ſettlement, the democracy changed into ariſtocracy.

regulated by the king and nobility. Yet in France, under the monarchs of the firſt and ſecond race, the people or freemen ſhared, at leaſt virtually, in the legiſlative power: According to the language of the capitularies, the laws were made *by the conſent of the people*. But it ſeems more than probable, that this conſent became a mere formality. Would the mayors of the palace have dared, or could they have had power to ſuppreſs the national aſſemblies, had not the fundamentals of the ancient conſtitution been already ſhaken?

Legiſlative powers in the hands of the people.

As all authority tends to its own aggrandiſement, that of the kings, eſpecially in France, quickly gained ground. This was an effect of their conqueſts and peculiar circumſtances. On one ſide, the vanquiſhed nations, accuſtomed to the yoke of the emperours, and trained to continual obedience by chriſtianity, entertained principles highly favourable to the authority of princes, and by mixing with the conquerors, naturally gained an influence over their opinions, eſpecially when both embraced the ſame religion, and the biſhops, who were all Romans, had great authority over the ſentiments and inclinations of the people. On the other ſide, the kings, being in poſſeſſion of vaſt domains, beſtowed ſome portions of them, under the name of *Benefices*, on the great lords, whom they were deſirous of attaching to their intereſt, and withdrew them at their pleaſure. Thus did hope and fear, the great movers of the human heart, ſecond their political views. Some kings, for inſtance, Chilperick I. even exerciſed a

How the royal power increaſed, eſpecially in France.

Benefices.

Succeſſion to the crown.

kind of violent deſpotiſm. Beſides, the French ſtill continued the crown in the family of Clovis, though without rigorouſly adhering to an order of ſucceſſion in favour of the elders, or the neareſt heirs; which was of the greateſt advantage to that family. Had the Merovingians (the name given to the firſt race) ſupported their dignity by their merit; had that line produced Pepins and Charles Martels, they would doubtleſs have become powerful monarchs, inſtead of ſinking into dependence on the mayors. In prudent and vigorous hands, authority increaſes for the publick weal. A ſucceſſion of three great men raiſed the empire of Charlemagne, while, through the folly of the *idle kings*, the grand building erected by Clovis crumbled into duſt.

The laws of the Barbarians too gentle. The reaſon.

The laws take an impreſſion from the genius of the people: Thoſe are gentle in proportion as theſe are free, for exceſſive liberty never ſubmits to a painful yoke. Treaſon and cowardice were commonly the only crimes for which there was no pardon. As the publick inflicted no puniſhment for murder, it was left to private perſons, who revenged their own quarrel, or that of their relations, though they ſometimes accepted a compoſition from the offender. Theſe northern nations being always at war, were peculiarly tender to the lives of their members. We muſt not, therefore, be ſurpriſed, if they ſubſtituted pecuniary fines inſtead of capital puniſhments.

Duels in failure of judicial proofs, and why.

Nor ought it to be matter of wonder, that they eſtabliſhed the practice of duels in failure of

of judicial evidence. This was an effect of the received opinion, that victory was a proof of juſtice; according to their ſyſtem and their language, it was the *judgment of God*; among Barbarians, it was the ſhorteſt method of putting an end to differences; it ſerved as fuel to that martial courage, which they looked upon as the firſt of all virtues, and was ſometimes a preſervative againſt the abuſe of oaths. Gondebald, king of the Burgundians, who, more than any other prince, authoriſed this cuſtom, gives that as a reaſon in his law—*That our ſubjects may not from henceforth make oath on obſcure matters, nor perjure themſelves when facts are clear.* "Thus," ſays Monteſquieu, "while the cler-"gy declared the law which permitted duels to "be impious, the law of the Burgundians look-"ed upon that which authoriſed the taking of "an oath, as ſacrilegious." An obſervation true in one ſenſe, though generally falſe; for the Burgundians ſometimes admitted the oaths, even of children, as evidence. But after all, the folly of judicial combat continued to be no leſs inſeparably interwoven with the principles of the Germanick nations.

Authoriſed by Gondebald, as a preventive of perjury.

The obſervations now made on duels, are applicable to the extravagant methods of exculpation allowed by the courts of juſtice. They had been firſt eſtabliſhed by opinion, and opinion long ſupported them. From the earlieſt ages, a miraculous virtue was aſcribed to the elements, on a ſuppoſition that they were animated by ſome intelligent power, which inceſſantly directed their action, and made them

Abſurdity of the judicial trials founded on opinion.

neceſſarily ſubſervient to the triumph of equity. The people were perſuaded, that fire would not burn the innocent, and that water would not drown the guilty. The one, therefore, might, without danger, handle a red hot piece of iron, or dip his hands in boiling water: The other would neceſſarily float in a veſſel of water, into which he was plunged with his hands and feet tied. Such were the principal trials which, in ſome countries, went by the name of *ordeal*.

Maintained by ſuperſtition, after the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity.

Chriſtianity could not deſtroy them, becauſe the Barbarians made it bend to their prejudices, rather than ſubject their prejudices to its principles. Superſtition ſought in our ſacred books for texts to authoriſe a practice repugnant to common ſenſe, and imagined it found them: Hence theſe trials became religious ceremonies, which the clergy were intereſted to ſupport; as, not to mention other advantages, they were by theſe means evidently made arbiters in many important cauſes. The croſs, holy water, and even the euchariſt, were converted into *ordeals*. Prieſts, monks, and ſometimes laymen, accuſed of crimes, cleared themſelves by taking the communion, and this flagrant abuſe was authoriſed by councils.

Trial by peers.

An eſſential point of publick juſtice was, in the firſt ages, the trial by *peers*, or equals. In France, there were *hundreds*, ſubdivided into *decennaries*; that is, a kind of diſtricts, conſiſting, at leaſt, of a hundred families, and comprehending other ſmaller diſtricts. The chief of the *hundreds*, or *decennaries*, tried petty cauſes. In each province, the *Count* was the regular

Order of juriſdiction.

regular judge. He took for his aſſeſſors, ſheriffs (*Scabini*) elected from the people, and commonly of the beſt families. The king reſerved to himſelf the privilege of judging the biſhops, abbots, and nobility. The *peerage*, properly ſo called, a dignity attached to the great fiefs of the French nation, did not take its riſe till theſe became hereditary.

II.

Religion neceſſarily corrupted among the Barbarians.

The Chriſtian religion would unqueſtionably have changed the Barbarians into other men, if it had not been in a ſhort time infected with ſuperſtitions equally abſurd and pernicious. Its beneficent and divine morality was in a manner covered with a thick ruſt, which ſuffered no part of it to be ſeen. This was another unavoidable effect of circumſtances. Formerly, the Druids had an abſolute dominion over the Gauls; nor had the German prieſts leſs authority, and the change of religion only rivetted the chains of the prieſthood on theſe nations. Unhappily, the clergy were neither well enough informed to guide the people right, nor had they virtue ſufficient to abſtain from abuſing their power. Can it be ſuppoſed, without a miracle, that they could reſiſt the torrent of national manners, eſpecially when Barbarians were promoted to the epiſcopal dignity, and brought with them their vices and their ignorance? Every thing then naturally degenerated. The purity of Chriſtianity was already corrupted by great

great abuſes, which daily increaſed, and produced others ſtill more flagrant.

Enriching the church thought the way to ſalvation.

The Chriſtian emperours had enriched the church, beſtowed on her privileges and immunities with a laviſh hand; and theſe ſeducing emoluments had not a little contributed to the relaxation of diſcipline, and the introduction of diſorders, which though not all equally viſible, all contributed to corrupt the ſpirit of the holy miniſtry. Under the government of the Barbarians, the miſchief increaſed with amazing rapidity. As they were perſuaded, that all crimes might be compenſated by a ſum of money, and that heaven was gained by donations to the church, the more that men abandoned themſelves to brutal paſſions, the more profuſe were they in theſe pretended works of piety. "They ſeemed to believe," ſays the Abbé Mably, "that avarice was the primary "attribute of the Deity, and that the ſaints "made a traffick of their intereſts and protection: "Which gave occaſion to the pleaſantry of "Clovis, *that St. Martin did his friends good "ſervice, but made them pay him too dear for his "trouble.*" (Obſerv. on Hiſt. of France, cap. 4.) This expreſſion of Clovis makes his piety ſomewhat ſuſpicious. Hiſtory mentions the complaints of his grandſon Chilperick, on the ſame ſubject, who frequently ſaid: *Our exchequer is poor; our wealth is got into the hands of the church; the biſhops are the real kings.* Though Chilperick be deſcribed as a man deſtitute of all ſenſe of religion, his complaints were not without foundation.

Complaints of Clovis and Chilperick on that ſubject.

In

Excessive power of the bishops.

In fact, the bishops having risen to the rank of nobility by the acquisition of demesnes, and joining the power of wealth to the influence of religion, were frequently arbiters of the state. In Spain, France, and other countries, they disposed of the throne, and dictated to the legislative power. They digested the laws, and every moment extended their prerogatives: Nor was it possible things should be otherwise. Their advice was necessary, for knowledge of every kind was confined to the clergy; their opinions were decisive; they ordinarily spoke in the name of God, and they were only men.

Quarrels between the clergy and laity, with their effects.

The interest of the laymen being inconsistent with theirs, this contrariety was a new source of disorders. The clergy employed artifice against antagonists who were superiour in strength; fables were invented to terrify and enslave them; spiritual arms were employed for the defence of temporal possessions; the soft voice of charity was changed into frightful anathemas, and religion seemed to breathe only terrour. Even the councils were frequently less attentive to discipline, than to the establishment or preservation of lucrative privileges. To all these helps they added the power of the sword. Prelates, through inclination and habit, took up the trade of war, and fought not only in defence of their own domains, but sometimes to usurp others, and frequently rebelled against their sovereign. History furnishes numerous examples of such offensive conduct. The violences committed by the laymen were undoubtedly the primary cause; but the enmity which sprung

up

up between the two orders is itſelf ſufficient proof, that the abuſes were flagrant and deeply rooted.

The biſhops become formidable even to the ſovereigns.

When a numerous order of citizens is exempted from bearing the common offices, and freed from the juriſdiction of the ordinary tribunals; when it becomes the dictator of opinion, claims its privileges by divine right, and is favoured by the joint aid of ſuperſtition and ignorance, there is no bar to its enterpriſes, if actuated by ambition and ſelf intereſt. The epiſcopal power roſe to ſuch a height, that even the imperious and cruel Chilperick, having charged Pretaxtatus of Rouen with a conſpiracy againſt his life, threw himſelf at the feet of the other biſhops, intreating them to puniſh him. This authority of the prelates, in ſome circumſtances, was a check to criminal actions, and then was really uſeful; but as, in the natural courſe of human affairs, its exerciſe was vitiated by motives of ſelf intereſt, it frequently became very dangerous.

Dangerous increaſe of the monks in the Eaſt.

The exceſſive multiplication of monaſtick inſtitutions had conſiderable influence on the ſtate of ſocieties. From time immemorial, great numbers of men, in the eaſtern countries, had devoted themſelves to a ſolitary and contemplative life; a fondneſs for which was eaſily inſpired by the heat of the climate, and the warmth of imagination. The example had been ſet to Chriſtians by the Therapeutæ and Eſſenians among the Jews; and they followed it with the more ardour, as their religion was more calculated to detach them from the things of

of this world. Egypt, in particular, was in a manner peopled with monks. In the fourth century, the ſingle city of Oxyrinchus, in Thebais, reckoned twenty thouſand, beſides ten thouſand nuns; it contained more monaſteries than private houſes. Yet few perſons are called by providence to a ſtate ſo repugnant to the natural order of ſociety, and which requires virtues ſuperiour to human ſtrength. Licentiouſneſs and diſorder conſequently crept into the cloiſters. The Eaſt was overrun by an infinite number of vagabond fanatical and ſeditious monks, who diſturbed the church and ſhook the throne. In 736, the emperour Valens enacted a law, obliging them to ſerve in the armies, which was the only method he could contrive for reducing them to obedience. Such laws are never executed, and the remedy only increaſes the evil. The rule of St. Baſil ſeemed an edifying reformation, but was confined within the walls of a few monaſteries; nor did it prevent the monks, who had now got the biſhopricks into their hands, from acting the principal part in theological diſſenſions.

Rule of St. Baſil.

The monks were already known in the Weſt, where they had begun to eſtabliſh themſelves about the beginning of the ſixth century, when St. Benedict founded his order in Italy. The celebrated Caſſiodorus, at the age of ſeventy, quitted the court to embrace the new rule. The great Totila made it more reſpectable by the honours he paid to its founder. The virtues of the riſing order, where the fervour of devotion was kept up by manual labour, drew to it proſelytes

The monks eſtabliſhed in the Weſt.

St. Benedict.

elytes by thouſands. Princes and noblemen embraced the devout life of the cloiſter, as the readieſt path to heaven; and this kind of devotion ſpread with all the fire of enthuſiaſm.

Foundation of monaſteries.

To found monaſteries at great expenſe, in the city and country, and to enrich them by offerings and donations, was reckoned one of the principal duties of Chriſtianity among the Barbarians. The monks acquired a large property in land, great part of which they cultivated, and thus were, at leaſt, ſome advantage to the countries they inhabited. But becoming too rich and numerous, they, by inſenſible degrees, loſt ſight of their primitive holineſs: Like the ſecular clergy, they became rapacious, vain, and ambitious, applied themſelves to war, and roſe to nobility; they contracted the vices of the age, and the aſylum of religious auſterity was converted into a ſource of offence to Chriſtians. Lazineſs, wretched poverty, publick calamities, a momentary fit of devotion, or the caprice of parents, were generally the motives for embracing this courſe of life. But could they put off their diſpoſitions by changing their habit? The effect of all this was, that the ſtate loſt a number of ſubjects, and gained but few edifying examples. Men were always dazzled with the beginnings, and never inclined to look forward to the conſequences, though the experience of the paſt gave evident tokens of the future: But nations are governed by prejudice and cuſtom.

Vice creeps into them, and why.

Immunities of the monks advantageous to the popes.

The monks were at firſt ſubject to the biſhops, but they ſoon obtained exemptions contrary

trary to the common right, a grant of which was ſolicited from the popes. Queen Brunehaut, for example, requeſted that favour of St. Gregory, in behalf of the monaſteries which ſhe had founded. The popes derived a double advantage from theſe grants; they augmented their authority over the biſhops, and united the monaſtick bodies more cloſely to their intereſt. But hence aroſe a number of inconveniences; diſcipline was greatly relaxed, the biſhops and monks became rivals, and the latter too ſtrictly devoted to the papal court. They were, in fact, ſo many miſſionaries of the popes; implicit obedience to whoſe commands they inculcated in their ſermons as a religious duty: The leſs they were connected with civil ſociety, and the order of the ſtate, the more aſſiduous were they in extending that foreign juriſdiction, from which they received ſo many privileges and marks of favour. By theſe methods, England, as we ſhall ſee elſewhere, and ſome other countries, fell into a kind of ſlavery. Rome herſelf would have been amazed, had ſhe compared the ancient rules with her new government.

Increaſe of the papal authority.

The popes, who were chiefs of the hierarchy, and commonly better informed and more prudent than the biſhops, had often been conſulted on important and difficult matters. Thus, by degrees, they eſtabliſhed a cuſtom of ſending their orders, becauſe reſpect was paid to their counſels. They afterwards formed a ſcheme for having vicars in every country, who ſhould command in their name; and not only the liberty of the churches, but the political powers, received

The popes give order in matters which did not belong to them.

received frequent ſhocks before they were totally ſubjected. Pepin and Carloman carrying on a war in Germany, the prieſt Sergius, envoy from pope Zachary to the duke of Bavaria, commanded them, in the name of his maſter and of St. Peter, to withdraw, in the ſame authoritative manner that he would have enjoined the obſervation of an eccleſiaſtical ordinance. However, the two princes fought a battle with the duke, and were victorious; upon which Pepin ſaid to Sergius—*If St. Peter had judged our cauſe unjuſt, he would not have ſuccoured us.* If we compare with this behaviour the intrigues to ſet Pepin upon the throne, to drive out the king of the Lombards, and ſhake off the yoke of the emperour, it will give us a diſtant proſpect of the lengths to which the popes were one day to carry their enterpriſes, when their dominion ſhould be more firmly eſtabliſhed.

Importance of being acquainted with the abuſes of religion.

I have found it neceſſary, though againſt my inclination, to dwell upon theſe diſagreeable ſubjects, a knowledge of which is unhappily indiſpenſable. The prodigious influence of the prieſthood in publick affairs gave birth to the principal events. The kingdoms were ſplit into factions by two orders of oppoſite intereſts, whoſe rivalſhip, ſometimes dormant, at others tumultuous, produced, as we ſhall ſee in the progreſs of this hiſtory, a long ſeries of diſturbances, ſtill increaſed by the contending parties of each claſs. We ſhall behold a foreign pontiff, by help of religious prejudices, ſubject even crowned heads to his dominion; while religion, diſfigured and miſtaken, ſerv-

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ed as a pretext for numberleſs inteſtine cabals. In a word, we ſhall find the misfortunes of the church and ſtate inſeparably united, till the darkneſs, which had prevailed for many ages, was diſpelled by the light of true ſcience.

Cauſe of the increaſe of ignorance.

We have ſeen in the Ancient Hiſtory, that almoſt all the prieſts of falſe religions confined knowledge to their own order, as the moſt proper means of ſupporting and extending their authority. They wanted to keep the people in ignorance of every thing but what they judged proper to teach them; made a myſtery of the moſt important points; and, in a word, kept truth in captivity. With this view, the Druids of Gaul ſtrictly prohibited writing, and ſecured to themſelves the privilege of pronouncing their oracles, without being expoſed to the leaſt examination. Unluckily, the clergy among the barbarous nations, from a propenſity which is but too natural, imitated this pernicious policy, and foſtered the laity's haughty contempt for letters; which ſpreading among the biſhops, who were generally tinctured with the national manners, writing was almoſt entirely confined to the cloiſters. Several works of the ancients were there copied; and thus many of them have been preſerved, the loſs of which would not have been repaired: But they were much more aſſiduous in compiling wretched chronicles and fabulous legends; by which hiſtory, religion, the principles and rights of ſociety, were almoſt totally corrupted.

Pernicious policy of the clergy.

Vid. Hiſt. de Celtes.

New chains were daily forged for mankind by groſs ſuperſtition. Falſe miracles, falſe relicks,

Blind credulity of mankind.

icks, falſe acts, and frauds, pretendedly pious, were multiplied without end. The ſlighteſt review of the hiſtorians of thoſe times, muſt give us the moſt dreadful ideas of the ſtupid blindneſs under which the nations laboured. Bede and Gregory of Tours adopt many abſurdities as unqueſtionable facts. St. Gregory, though a pontiff whoſe virtues merit the higheſt commendation, deſpiſed and hated true literature, which forms the genius and ſtrengthens the judgment: His own works are a proof, how advantageous it would have been for him to ſtudy the art of criticiſm.

Falſe notions given them of religion.

The trifling queſtions put to him by Auſtin the monk, who converted the Engliſh, with his anſwers, are ſufficient to ſhew what falſe notions then prevailed in the doctrine and practice of true religion. The correſpondence between Boniface, the apoſtle of the Germans, and pope Zachary, ſets this matter in a ſtill clearer light. Zachary, in one of his letters, tells the miſſionary, that Chriſtians are forbidden to eat jays, rooks, ſtorks, hares, &c. In another he ſays—"*You aſk me, how long lard* "*ought to be kept before it be eaten. The* "*fathers have given no direction in this matter;* "*however, my opinion is, that it ought not to* "*be eaten unleſs dried in ſmoke, or dreſſed with* "*fire. But if any will eat it raw, it will be* "*proper to wait till after the Eaſter holidays.*"

What becomes of religion, the eſſence of which is to adore God *in ſpirit and in truth*, according to the oracle of Jeſus Chriſt—what becomes of it, when it is made to conſiſt in contemptible

contemptible *minutiæ*, and even in pernicious practices ?

The miſchiefs neceſſarily increaſed.

Almoſt all the Europeans, unacquainted with learning, the arts, commerce, and politicks, neceſſarily became more barbarous and wretched, unleſs nature, if I may uſe the expreſſion, was forced by ſome extraordinary revolution. We ſhall ſee Charlemagne make ſtrong efforts, and attended with great ſucceſs ; but after him, all will ſink into the former chaos.

SECOND

SECOND EPOCHA.

CHARLEMAGNE; *or, the* NEW EMPIRE *of the* WEST.——INVASION *of the* NORMANS.

[From the End of the Eighth Century, to the Middle of the Tenth.]

CHAP. I.

WARS *of* CHARLEMAGNE.

THE French monarchy was divided between Pepin's two ſons, Charles, called afterwards Charlemagne, and Carloman. Theſe princes quarrelled, and their miſunderſtanding would have produced fatal effects, if Carloman's death, which happened in 771, had not put an end to their diſputes. Charles, whoſe vaſt and ambitious genius was thus freed from every check, finding himſelf at the head of a powerful army, ſoon formed projects for immortalizing his name. We are now to enter upon a reign, the courſe of which, and it laſted forty ſix years, was a continued ſeries of victories, political inſtitutions, and remarkable events; which, in the midſt of barbariſm, offer

Beginning of Charlemagne's reign.

Death of his brother.

to our view objects worthy of employing our whole attention.

Mutual animosity of the popes and Lombard kings.

There still remained in Italy a leaven of discord, fomented by the mutual animosity of the popes and Lombard kings. The dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, refusing to acknowledge Didier, the successor of Aistulf; that prince, who attributed their revolt to the papal intrigues, ravaged the territory which went by the name of *St. Peter's Patrimony*, but afterwards came to an accommodation with pope Paul I. who pursued the plan of politicks marked out by his predecessors. There are extant letters from Paul to Pepin, in which that monarch is styled a new Moses, the French a holy nation, and the Lombards are stigmatized as enemies of the church and the faith, though, as well as the others, they had embraced the catholick doctrine. But encomiums and reproaches were dictated by interest.

Paul I. and Didier.

Ingratitude of Stephen IV. to Didier.

After the death of Paul I. Constantine, the son of the duke of Nepi, having been forcibly set upon the papal throne, Didier put an end to a scandalous schism by favouring the election of Stephen IV. (772.) Notwithstanding this, the pope had recourse to France, in order to force him to restore some of the church lands, and even carried his ingratitude to a greater length. The project for a double marriage of Charlemagne and Carloman with the king of Italy's two daughters, filled him with the strongest apprehensions, and he used his utmost endeavours to prevent their alliance; not only insisting that these princes were already married, but describing

772.

deſcribing the Lombards as objects of contempt and horrour, *who*, ſays he, *we know of a truth, firſt ſpread the leproſy*. Notwithſtanding this odious imputation, Charlemagne married the daughter of Didier, but ſoon after divorced her, probably with a view to the conqueſt of her father's kingdom.

Charlemagne marries that king's daughter, and divorces her.

Didier, enraged at this affront, afforded an aſylum to Carloman's widow and her two ſons, who had been deprived of their inheritance by Charlemagne; after which, he endeavoured to bring pope Adrian I. over to his intereſt; but not being able to ſucceed, he ravaged the territories of the church. Upon this, Charlemagne, with whoſe deſigns Adrian was acquainted, paſſed the Alps with haſty marches, took Verona, where the children and widow of Carloman reſided, made himſelf maſter of Pavia after a long ſiege, and deſtroyed the monarchy of the Lombards, which had ſubſiſted two hundred and ſix years. Didier died in a monaſtery, but hiſtory is ſilent on the fate of Charlemagne's nephews. Should we be ignorant of it, if it could have reflected honour upon the conqueror?

He deſtroys the kingdom of the Lombards to gratify Adrian I.

774.

During the ſiege of Pavia, he paid a viſit to Rome, where he was met by the whole body of the clergy with banners in their hands. Adrian received him with great pomp, in the church of St. Peter, and the people ſung, *Bleſſed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord*. Pepin's donation was ratified, if we may believe the hiſtorians; yet neither the original, nor any copy of ſo important a deed, could ever after be found,

Pays a viſit to Rome during the ſiege of Pavia.

which has made the whole matter to be queſtioned by ſome criticks.

His rights and thoſe of the pope.

However generous Charlemagne was to the Holy See, he did not neglect his own intereſts. To the title of king of the Lombards he added, in quality of Roman patrician, the rights of ſovereignty in Rome, and the territories granted to the Holy See. It is ſaid, that Adrian inveſted him with the prerogative of ordering and confirming the election of the popes; but the Oſtrogoth kings, and the exarchs, had exercifed the ſame prerogative, as an appanage of the ſovereigns of Rome. From a coin of that pontiff, the ſovereignty of Rome ſeems to have been in his hands; but when, and how he acquired it, is a point impoſſible to be cleared up. Doubtleſs, he neglected nothing to obtain new conceſſions. On the other hand, we have every reaſon to believe, that Charles did not ſtrip himſelf of his conqueſts.

General idea of the wars at that time, which were only expeditions.

We ſhall not follow this hero in the expeditions which ſignalized almoſt every year of his reign. War was then carried on without a ſettled plan, or connected train of operations. There were neither regular troops, nor funds for their ſubſiſtence. Every lord headed his own ſoldiers, and was bound to ſerve only a limited time. A war was commonly obliged to be ended with the campaign; the troops were then diſcharged, and, in caſe of neceſſity, again aſſembled the following year. Hence it was, that the war againſt the Saxons, though invariably ſucceſsful, laſted thirty years. Let us con-

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tent ourſelves with mentioning the moſt memorable facts.

Abderaman or Almanzor, the Arabian prince already mentioned, reigned glorioufly in Spain. The petty Chriſtian kings of the Aſturias had prudently ſued for peace; but the governours of Saragoſſa and Arragon revolted, and called in Charlemagne, whom they acknowledged for their ſovereign. Upon this, he paſſed the Pyrennées in 778, and ſubdued the whole country to the Ebro; or rather, was received there by the lords, with whom he maintained a correſpondence. On his return from this expedition, his rear guard was defeated by the duke of Gaſcony, at Roncefvalles, where fell the famous Roland, ſo celebrated by the writers of romance, and whom they ſuppoſed the nephew of Charlemagne. But the notions of chivalry were not yet ſuch as has been imagined by thoſe who have borrowed their ideas from theſe fabulous compoſitions.

Expedition into Spain againſt Almanzor.

In 788 died Abderaman, and his death, which was followed by civil wars among his children, gave the Chriſtians in Spain an opportunity of recovering themſelves. A monument of that prince's grandeur ſtill ſubſiſts in the cathedral of Cordova; a building of ſix hundred feet in length, and two hundred and fifty in breadth, ſupported by three hundred and ſixty five pillars of alabaſter, jaſper, and black marble. Such works could have been planned and executed by no other nation but the Arabians.

Death of Abderaman.

Moſque of Cordova ſtill ſubſiſting.

France

War of thirty years againſt the Saxons.

France had long been at war with the Saxons, who preſerved all the ferocity of the German manners, while their courage was ſtill more inflamed by the love of liberty. Pepin had ſubjected them to tribute, and beſides, forced them to receive miſſionaries; but they could neither bear to pay the one, nor embrace the religion of the other, the pacifick ſpirit of which was ſo contradictory to the human paſſions. Theſe Barbarians having maſſacred ſome miſſionaries, the abbot of Fulda, at the diet of Worms in 772, prevailed upon the king to take arms againſt them. Though often beaten, they ſtill rebelled; their general, the celebrated Witikind, inceſſantly rouſing their ardour for war, and their love of independence. In 782, he gained a complete victory over the French.

Maſſacre perpetrated by Charlemagne.

Witikind ſubmits.

Charlemagne took a cruel revenge, by the maſſacre of Verden, where four thouſand five hundred of the principal Saxons were beheaded. Witikind, after being defeated with great ſlaughter in ſeveral battles, made his ſubmiſſion, and embraced Chriſtianity. Though he kept his engagements with fidelity, he never could inſpire his countrymen with a ſalutary ſpirit of docility. They often ſubmitted, and as often revolted; but at laſt, after a war of thirty years, they were entirely ſubjected, by tranſplanting many thouſand families of them into Flanders and other countries. The moſt reſolute retired into Scandinavia, carrying with them an implacable hatred againſt the dominion and religion of the French.

The conqueror juſtly looked upon Chriſtianity, as the beſt means for ſoftening the turbulence of a ferocious people. But he knew not, that Chriſtians are not made by violence. His capitularies for the Saxons ſeem almoſt equally barbarous with their own manners. He obliged them to receive baptiſm, under pain of death, and to pay tythes to the clergy; an impoſition, to which even the French refuſed ſubmiſſion; he made it capital to break the faſt of Lent, and, in a word, ſubſtituted force inſtead of perſuaſion. Theſe firſt Saxon laws ſhock the feelings of humanity; yet the people were at laſt reconciled to them, and cauſed them to be confirmed by the emperour Conrad II. A horrid inquiſition, rather than real juſtice, was long exerciſed by the ſanguinary tribunals of the *Vehmick court*, and *Weſtphalian judicature*, which, on the teſtimony of vile informers, paſſed ſentence of condemnation without any form of proceſs. Theſe courts were not aboliſhed till the ſixteenth century; a circumſtance which appears unaccountable, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that ſuperſtition had, in ſome meaſure, changed nature.

Violences committed for the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity in Saxony.

Long duration of the Saxon laws, notwithſtanding their barbarity.

Every nation in Germany, that dared to make the leaſt commotion, ſunk under the arms of the French hero. Taſſilo, duke of Bavaria, who had been compelled to receive the inveſtiture of his duchy, having rebelled, was ſtripped of his dominions. The Sclavonians in Pomerania were ſubdued. The Huns or Abares, who had ſettled in Hungary, were driven beyond the Raab. Charlemagne needed but to ſhew

Germany ſubjected to France.

ſhew himſelf to diſperſe his enemies. We ſhall ſee him ſtill greater among his own ſubjects.

CHAP. II.

COUNCIL *of* FRANCFORT, *and Affairs of the* CHURCH.—CHARLEMAGNE *Emperour.—End of his Reign.*

Charlemagne extended his care to every department.

NOTWITHSTANDING the multiplicity of his wars, Charlemagne was attentive to the intereſts of government, laws, manners, learning, and religion. He held frequent conventions of the ſtates, in order to regulate the affairs of the nation and the church; examined every thing, and preſided in all buſineſs with indefatigable aſſiduity. The council of Francfort, in which the worſhip of images was condemned, preſents the hiſtorian with an intereſting object, proper to ſhew the prejudices of the age, the authority of the ſovereign, and the pernicious effects of a contentious theology, as well as the cure for the evils it may produce.

794. Famous council of Francfort.

The primary object of this council was, the condemnation of the doctrine broached by Felix Urgello, and Elipand of Toledo, two Spaniſh biſhops; who, in order to refute the charge of polytheiſm, brought againſt the Chriſtians by the Jews and Muſſulmen, maintained, that Jeſus Chriſt was the ſon of God only by adoption, and deſtroyed the doctrine of the Trinity while they appeared to defend it.

Three

Three hundred biſhops, with two legates from the pope, aſſembled in conſequence of the king's orders, and Francfort became a ſecond Nice, where the doctrine of the church was deſtined to triumph over hereſy.

The king diſplays his authority in the council.

Charles, ſeated on a throne, opened the aſſembly in perſon, and moved for a ſentence of condemnation. In a letter addreſſed to the churches of Spain, he expreſſes himſelf in the following remarkable terms—*You conjured me to judge this affair myſelf; I have done it; I have aſſiſted as hearer and arbiter at the aſſembly of biſhops; we have ſeen, and, by the grace of God, ordained what is to be believed.* Neither Conſtantine, nor the other emperours, who were too jealouſly fond of dipping into theological matters, had aſſumed a tone of greater authority. But Charles, far from being blamed, was always loaded with praiſes. His authority and benefactions, doubtleſs, covered all the faults in his conduct.

Worſhip of images reſtored by Irene.

In the queſtion concerning images, he acted with ſtill greater haughtineſs. Leo IV. ſon of Conſtantine Copronymus, copying the example of his father's perſecution, had baniſhed his own wife Irene, for having concealed images under the pillow of her bed. This princeſs equally ſuſceptible of the charms of devotion and ambition, being afterwards raiſed to the imperial dignity, jointly with her infant ſon Conſtantine Porphyrogenetes, was deſirous of eſtabliſhing a worſhip, which ſhe favoured both from inclination and policy. Taraſius, ſecretary of ſtate, was elected patriarch of Conſtantinople,

tinople, and employed as an inſtrument to execute her deſigns. The ſecond council of Nice, held in 787, decreed, that an honorary *adoration* ſhould be paid to images, not the true *latria*, which is due only to the Deity. The ignorance of the Greeks is plainly proved by the forged writings, and apocryphal facts, quoted in the acts of that council; but, according to the remark of ſome great theologians, theſe do not invalidate the deciſion, which was ſupported by authentick pieces.

Deciſion of the council of Nice.

Unluckily the tranſlation of the acts ſent by pope Adrian into France was ſo defective, as to contain theſe words—*I receive and honour images according to the adoration which I pay to the Holy Trinity*. Leſs than this would have been ſufficient to ſtartle the French, who were already prejudiced againſt the Greeks and their worſhip; for no honours were paid to images in the monarchy. Charles cauſes the *Caroline books* to be compoſed by the biſhops, and publiſhed them under the following title—*Againſt the council ſurreptitiouſly and arrogantly held in Greece to eſtabliſh the worſhip of images*. This title is ſufficient to give an idea of the work, which is only a rhapſody of foul language and falſe reaſoning. In a word, the council of Francfort rejected that of Nice with the utmoſt contempt, and the king ſent to the pope his Caroline books, which were extremely proper to inflame the quarrel.

Charles cauſes this council to be rejected with contempt.

Caroline books.

Among a people like the Greeks, naturally ſophiſts and keen theological diſputants, an affair of ſuch delicacy would have been neceſ-

Prudence and policy of pope Adrian.

farily

ſarily attended with dangerous conſequences. But in France this was not the caſe, becauſe the clergy of that country entertained the ſame ſentiments with the prince, and Adrian was prudent enough to yield to the conjunctures. His reply to Charlemagne was worded with great circumſpection: He there maintained the doctrine of Nice without condemning that of France, and declared, that his motive for receiving the Greek council was to prevent their relapſing into errour; he ſpoke in general of the plans he had formed *for the aggrandizement of the Romiſh church and the regal power*. Theſe plans were probably the ſame which we ſhall ſee executed by his ſucceſſor. The popes were far from being well affected to the empire of Conſtantinople, and experienced the utility of being under the protection of France: A French emperour, indebted to them for his dignity, would more zealouſly promote the *aggrandizement of the Romiſh church*. We now draw near the time when Charlemagne received that title.

His projects in favour of Charles, in order to promote the intereſts of the Holy See.

He was deſirous that Adrian ſhould excommunicate the Greek emperour, being doubtleſs perſuaded that ſuch a ſtep would promote his deſigns. As the pope could not conſiſtently make a handle of the controverſy concerning images, he promiſed (which muſt fill every man with aſtoniſhment) to declare Conſtantine and Irene hereticks, if they refuſed to reſtore certain church lands. The temporal intereſt, then, is to regulate the uſe of ſpiritual arms! What ſtorms are gathering at a diſtance againſt the princes!

He promiſes to paſs a ſentence of excommunication ſolely on a temporal account.

Leo

Leo III. takes refuge with Charles.

Leo III. who ſucceeded Adrian in 796, immediately on his acceſſion ſent the ſtandard of Rome to Charlemagne, intreating him to diſpatch ſome perſon to that city in order to receive the allegiance of the inhabitants; a palpable proof of his rights of ſovereignty being always acknowledged in Rome. Three years after, two men of conſiderable rank among the clergy, relations of the late pope, and enemies of Leo, not only entered an accuſation againſt him, but attacked him in the open ſtreet, overwhelmed him with a ſhower of blows, and ſhut him up half dead in the priſon of a monaſtery. However, he found means to eſcape, and fled to Charlemagne, who ſent him back with the greateſt honours, and made preparations to follow him into Italy.

800. That prince judges the pope at Rome.

That prince, on his arrival at Rome, after holding private conferences with the pope for ſix days, aſſembled the biſhops and lords to examine into the charges brought againſt him; upon which the prelates exclaimed—*The holy See can be judged by none.* This was not the opinion of Symmachus, who, in the reign of Theodorick, even inſiſted upon being tried by a council. However, Leo made his defence, declared that the king was come *to take cognizance of the cauſe*, and exculpated himſelf upon oath.

Leo crowns him emperour.

On Chriſtmas day Charlemagne attending maſs in St. Peter's church, the imperial crown was ſuddenly placed upon his head by the pope in the middle of the ſervice, and the people ſhouted from every quarter—*Life and victory to Charles*

Charles Auguſtus, crowned by the hand of God, great and pacifick emperour of the Romans! That prince, if we may believe Eginhard his ſecretary, expected nothing like it, and gave evident marks of ſurpriſe and ſorrow. But whoever in the leaſt reflects on Charlemagne's ambition, his own political plans and thoſe of the pope, their ſecret conferences and the circumſtances of events, will pay little regard to ſuch demonſtrations. Beſides, what right had the Romans, particularly the pope, to proclaim an emperour? What right could that title, thus granted, convey to a king of France? Perhaps none, if we may judge by the ſtate of Rome and the Weſt; but opinions are fixed by words well or ill underſtood. It was believed then, that the empire, of which not a veſtige remained, was reeſtabliſhed, and Charlemagne acted as ſucceſſor of the ancient emperours. Irene, who had dethroned and put to death her ſon Conſtantine, that ſhe might enjoy the ſole power, entered into a treaty of marriage with him in order to preſerve her Italian dominions; and it was agreed upon, when the patrician Nicephorus, having formed a conſpiracy againſt her, confined her in a monaſtery, and mounted the throne. The new emperour likewiſe, dreading the power of Charlemagne, ſent him an embaſſy, and the limits of the two empires were ſettled. By a new treaty concluded in 811, Calabria, Sicily, the coaſt of Naples, Dalmatia, and Venice, remained ſubject to the Greeks. There are proofs extant of Venice being even then in a ſtate of dependence;

Second empire of the Weſt, upon what founded.

Irene dethroned by Nicephorus.

Treaty with the emperour of the Eaſt.

Venice ſtill dependent.

ence; but ſhe aſpired to that entire liberty which ſhe ſoon after obtained.

Charlemagne's correſpondence with Haroun al Raſchid.

The renown of Charles extended even into Aſia. He kept up a correſpondence with the famous Haroun al Raſchid, the twenty fifth Calif; one of thoſe princes who principally contributed to the promotion of learning and politeneſs among the Arabians. According to Eginhard, he preferred the French king's friendſhip to that of all other princes; a proof of the value he ſet on it was the ceſſion of the ſovereignty of Jeruſalem, a city to which multitudes of Chriſtians even at that time reſorted, from a principle of devotion. Among the curious preſents ſent by the Calif, what principally excited the admiration of the French was a ſtriking clock, the firſt that had been ſeen in the kingdom. Whatever efforts Charlemagne made to enlighten his age, the moſt learned men of his court were not even comparable to the Calif. The Arabians were then qualified to be inſtructors of all Europe, which was ſunk in the darkneſs of barbariſm. Let us ſpeak a few words of this wonderful phenomenon.

The Califs made arts and ſciences flouriſh.

The deſcendants of Abbas having recovered the crown, and transferred the ſeat of the Muſſulman empire from Damaſcus to Caffa, and afterwards to Bagdad, on the banks of the Tigris; the Calif Almanzor drew thither the arts and ſciences, a taſte for which theſe barbarous conquerours had acquired by receiving a tincture of them from the Greeks: A kind of triumph reſerved for poliſhed nations even in their abaſement, and which might afford matter of

of conſolation, if any conſolation could be found for a people under the preſſure of ſlavery, after the enjoyment of a glorious liberty! Mahadi, ſucceſſor of Almanzor, foſtered thoſe precious ſeeds; and Al Raſchid, who reigned after Mahadi, increaſed their fecundity by his care and abilities. Under Almamon, Motaſſem, and Watick, they made ſtill greater progreſs; until at laſt the Arabians, like ſo many other nations, by their diſſenſions and civil wars were deprived of the fruits of genius, which are for the moſt part inſeparable from the happineſs and tranquillity of the ſtate. In all empires we find the ſame revolutions produced by the ſame cauſes; and nothing is more worthy of attention, when we would ſtudy hiſtory as we ought.

Diviſion of the French monarchy.

One great cauſe of the ruin of ſtates always was their being ſhared among ſeveral princes; a cuſtom which univerſally prevailed; and Charlemagne conformed to it by his will, in 806, which he cauſed to be ſigned by the biſhops and great lords; and afterwards ſent it to Rome, in order to have the ſignature of the pope. This will bears, that in caſe of any diſpute among his three ſons, recourſe ſhall be had to the judgment of the croſs, in order to diſcover the will of the Deity. (This was one of the moſt ridiculous of the *ordeals*; the party who longeſt kept his arms extended, in the form of a croſs, gained his cauſe.) In 813, Louis, king of Aquitaine, being the ſole ſurvivor of the three brothers, Charles choſe him for his colleague in the empire; and ordered him to take the crown, which

Louis aſſociated in the empire.

was

was placed on the altar, as a mark that he held it of God alone. We ſhall ſoon find the clergy eſtabliſh very different principles.

CHAP. III.

OBSERVATIONS *on the Reign of* CHARLEMAGNE. —*State of* ENGLAND *till the Diſſolution of the* HEPTARCHY.

814. End of Charlemagne's reign. Extent of his empire.

THE glory of the French empire ſeemed to be buried with Charlemagne, who died at Aix la Chapelle, his ordinary reſidence, at the age of ſeventy one. He was maſter of all France, Germany, and part of Hungary, with the Low Countries, the country of Barcelona in Spain, and Italy, as far as Benevento; a vaſt empire to maintain, which required a genius equal to that monarch's.

His great qualities.

This hero was the wonder of his age; whether we conſider his abilities, his great actions, his extenſive views, his incredible activity, the wiſdom of his government, or even his virtues, though theſe be not entirely free from ſpots. He turned his attention upon an endleſs number of details, at the ſame time that he was projecting and executing the greateſt enterpriſes. His houſehold was a pattern of economy, his perſon of ſimplicity and real grandeur. He eſtabliſhed the excellent cuſtom of ſending into the provinces commiſſioners, to examine the conduct of the dukes, by whom they were gov-

Royal envoys eſtabliſhed by him.

erned,

erned, and the counts who were veſted with the judicial power; to receive complaints, to check oppreſſions, and to maintain good order. Theſe *royal envoys* paid their viſits every three months; and frequently made their appearance at Rome, where their authority awed even the popes.

Favours he beſtowed on the clergy.

As the clergy were the only men who had any tincture of knowledge, it is not to be wondered that they were continually loaded with favours by a prince who was a friend to learning, as well as religion. He employed the biſhops in all affairs; aſſociated them with the counts in the adminiſtration of juſtice; and, in conjunction with them and the lords, compoſed his capitularies; which, however, it muſt be acknowledged, are too numerous, and contain abuſes mixed with good laws. He eſtabliſhed the tythes in lieu of the lands detained from the church; an impoſt which was long a ſource of murmurs. But, on the other hand, he prohibited the biſhops from bearing arms; enjoining them to apply to ſtudy, and confine themſelves to their proper vocation: In a word, he endeavoured to reſtore eccleſiaſtical diſcipline to its vigour; and his want of ſucceſs was the ſtrongeſt demonſtration that the evil was incurable. The ſubmiſſion of the clergy to his orders was no leſs a proof of his ſkill in the ſcience of government.

He valued himſelf too much on his ſkill in theology.

We have ſeen to what lengths that prince carried his authority in religious matters, without finding the leaſt reſiſtance from the biſhops or popes; and we meet with a new inſtance of it in

the famous diſpute on the Third Perſon of the Trinity. The Nicene Creed affirmed, that the Holy Spirit *proceeds from the Father*. From the beginning of the ſeventh century, the Spaniards and French added the clauſe, and from the Son *(filioque)*. This the Greeks looked upon as an abominable ſcandal; and it was thought a culpable novelty by the Church of Rome, which likewiſe diſapproved the cuſtom of chanting the Creed. In 809 the king convoked the council of Aix la Chapelle, in order to confirm the addition; and defended it with the zeal of a theological doctor, in a dogmatical letter to pope Leo III. which is a mere cento of texts of ſcripture ſtrung together. Leo made no deciſion; but contented himſelf with juſtifying the practice of Rome, and adviſing to let that of France fall into deſuetude by degrees. Had it not been for the pope's condeſcenſion, perhaps the clauſe *filioque* would have occaſioned a ſchiſm between the Italians and the French, as well as between the Latins and Greeks. Luckily the clergy and monks in the Weſt were not then poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of controverſy: At another time theſe ſteps of the ſovereign would have been a ſignal of civil diſcords.

Diſpute on the clauſe *filioque* being added to the Creed.

Leo III. by his prudence prevents a ſchiſm.

If Charlemagne, like the Greek emperours, valued himſelf on his ſkill in theology; at leaſt his genius was not confined within the narrow circle of vain ſubtilties, but aſpired to the great and uſeful in every ſpecies. He created a naval force, in order to oppoſe the incurſions of the Normans; a formidable and piratical nation, who already inſulted the kingdom, and ravaged it

Projects and eſtabliſhments of Charlemagne.

it after his death. He attempted to join the ocean with the Black Sea by a canal of communication between the Rhine and the Danube. How advantageous might this work have been for trade! But, at that time, France could furniſh no man of ſufficient capacity to put it in execution.

The prince collected about his perſon a number of *literati*, and formed in his palace a kind of academy, of which he was a member. He eſtabliſhed ſchools in the cathedrals and monaſteries, where the ſcholars were taught grammar, arithmetick, and church muſick; and though their education went no farther, yet even this was a great deal, when ſeveral councils had required no more qualifications from the prieſts, than to underſtand the Lord's Prayer.

Schools, what was taught in them.

I ſhall ſay nothing of Charlemagne's rich donations to the churches, eſpecially that of Rome, to which Eginhard is ſurpriſed *he made no more than four pilgrimages*: Such was the prevailing ſpirit during ſeveral ages. The publick exigencies were ſupplied, and the taſte for pious profuſions gratified, by the treaſures of the Huns and Lombards. It appears a ſingularity, that Charlemagne, while he reproached the eccleſiaſticks with their love of riches, continued to enrich them. Three valuable abbeys were the recompenſe of Alcuin, a learned Engliſhman whom he had drawn to France, whoſe merit was then admired, but whoſe works cannot now find a reader. This powerful abbot was reproached with having twenty thouſand ſlaves. As the common people were *ſerfs*, and the lands of his

Donations to the church.

The abbot Alcuin, a learned man enriched.

three abbeys might contain twenty thouſand inhabitants, the reproach was not entirely groundleſs; at leaſt it gives us ſome idea of the opulence of the eccleſiaſticks.

Of England, from its conqueſt by the Saxons.

Alcuin's country now begins to deſerve a place in this hiſtory. After the Romans had abandoned Great Britain, in order to defend the reſt of the empire againſt the Barbarians, it had fallen a prey to the Saxons; who being called in by the Britons, againſt the Scots and Picts, ſubdued the people whom they had come to defend. About the middle of the fifth century, the Saxons and Angles, or Engliſh (originally the ſame people) founded ſeven petty kingdoms, named the Heptarchy. * Chriſtianity was introduced into Kent by Bertha, daughter of Caribert, king of Paris, and wife of Ethelbert. It was then that Gregory the Great ſent the monk Auſtin to preach the faith to thoſe Barbarians. Bertha's zeal was imitated by a queen of Northumberland, and another of Mercia; and the true religion ſpread univerſally; but the people ill inſtructed, almoſt without principles, and ready to comply with every caprice of their princes, from time to time returned to idolatry; which at laſt, however, totally diſappeared. If England was, more than other countries, ſubject to the ſee of Rome, it was owing to the miſſionary monks, or their ſucceſſors, making obedience to it one of the principal duties of religion.

Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity in that country.

Offa,

* Kingdoms of Kent, Suſſex, Eſſex, Weſſex, Mercia, Eaſt Anglia, and Northumberland.

King Offa seeks absolution at Rome.

Offa, the moſt celebrated of the Mercian kings, mounted the throne in 755, after having aſſaſſinated the king of Eaſt Anglia, and ſeized upon his dominions. He then took a journey to Rome, in order to receive abſolution, which was given by pope Adrian I. On this occaſion he eſtabliſhed *Peter pence*, a kind of tax of a penny *per* houſe (amounting to about two ſhillings and ſix pence of the preſent money) which the popes afterwards exacted as a tribute: In a word, he obliterated the remembrance of his crimes by extenſive donations, which a poor ſtate was ſcarce able to ſupport. This prince was in amity with Charlemagne, and ſent him the famous Alcuin, who was revered as a prodigy of learning; becauſe, in that age, few people could even read.

Peter pence.

Egbert unites the ſeven kingdoms.

The Heptarchy was deſtroyed in 827, when Egbert, king of Weſſex, the only ſurvivor of the ancient royal families, formed it into a ſingle kingdom. Being perſecuted in his youth, he had found an aſylum and inſtruction in the court of Charlemagne, where he changed the Saxon ferocity for gentler and more poliſhed manners. The hiſtorian, William of Malmeſbury, repreſents the French as the model for the nations of the Weſt; though the French themſelves were then ſcarce emerged from the ancient barbariſm.

Incurſions of the Danes.

By the prudence and valour of Egbert, the kingdom was preſerved from the attacks of the piratical Danes, who every day became more formidable. We ſhall ſoon ſee them acquire ſettlements, both in England and France. A part of the Saxons, flying from the cruelties committed

mitted by Charlemagne, upon motives of religion and politicks, had taken refuge among them, and inſpired them with a deſire of revenge, as well as a hatred againſt Chriſtianity.

Let us return to the French monarchy, which, during a long period, will be a kind of common centre in the hiſtory of Europe, where all the lines drawn from the circumference will meet.

CHAP. IV.

Weak and unfortunate Reign of LOUIS *the* DEBONNAIRE.—*Partition of his* KINGDOM.

814. Weakneſs and devotion of Louis.

UNDER Louis the Debonnaire, ſon of Charlemagne, every thing gave ſymptoms of approaching decay. The puſillanimous devotion, weak character, and narrow genius of the prince, rendered him entirely incapable of ſupporting the weight of ſo vaſt an empire. He placed his whole confidence in a pious monk, who was only fit for governing a pious monaſtery. He made himſelf odious to the clergy by projects of reformation; not foreſeeing that that powerful body would be leſs ſubmiſſive to him than they had been to his father: In a word, he was very careful of his ſanctity, and very negligent of the government; as if ſanctity did not conſiſt in fulfilling his primary duties, and as if the practices of the cloiſter would compenſate for the buſineſs of the throne.

One

One of the great faults committed by Louis, was dividing the monarchy among his children; and thus ſtill more weakening an authority already ſo much enfeebled by the folly of the government. He gave Aquitaine to Pepin, Bavaria to Louis, and made Lothaire, the eldeſt of theſe princes, his partner in the empire. This partition gave offence to Bernard, king of Italy, and grandſon of Charlemagne; who, from his title of king of Italy, as well as his deſcent from an elder brother of the emperour, claimed rights incompatible with the aſſociation of Lothaire; and being ſpirited up to a revolt by his flatterers, raiſed an army againſt his uncle, in defiance of the imperial dignity, of which his crown was a fief. Being abandoned by his troops, he was taken priſoner, tried, and condemned to death; but Louis commuted that puniſhment, and cauſed his eyes to be put out; three days after which the young prince died. In order to prevent new troubles, the emperour ſhut up in a monaſtery three natural ſons of Charlemagne, who had kept ſeveral concubines or wives of the ſecond order.

817. This prince imprudently divides the monarchy.

Revolt of Bernard, king of Italy.

His puniſhment.

After theſe acts of rigour, being diſtracted with remorſe, reproaching himſelf as the murderer of his nephew, and the tyrant of his brothers; and his ſcruples being foſtered by imprudent or ambitious monks and biſhops, he accuſed himſelf in a general aſſembly, intreating the prelates to admit him to publick penance. The clergy pretended to be edified by this proceeding; but they ſaw how eaſy it would be to enſlave a man of feeble underſtanding, whoſe miſtaken

Prepoſterous humiliation of Louis.

miſtaken devotion debaſed the imperial majeſty.

829. Diſcord ſown in the royal family by the empreſs Judith.

The ſeeds of revolt were foſtered by Judith of Bavaria, the emperour's ſecond wife. As her ſon Charles (who was afterwards king under the name of Charles the Bald) ſeemed to be excluded from the ſucceſſion, by the partition made in favour of the children of the firſt marriage; in order to ſecure an eſtabliſhment for him, ſhe prevailed upon Louis to make a new diviſion, and obtained the conſent of Lothaire, who was principally concerned to oppoſe it, and who ſoon found reaſon to repent of his complaiſance.

The abbot Vala, head of the faction.

The three princes formed a ſtrong party; and Vala, abbot of Corbie, a monk of high birth, who had formerly been in credit at the court of Charlemagne, but was then in diſgrace, and a malecontent, though reſpected as a ſaint, putting himſelf at the head of the faction, by his example and diſcourſes drew away a number of the prelates. Prodigies were forged to inflame the credulous multitude; and the party declaimed againſt the government, particularly the empreſs, who was accuſed of adultery with count Bernard, an inflexible and odious miniſter.

Louis almoſt dethroned.

At laſt Louis was ſtruck with terrour, and humbled himſelf; his wife was confined to a cloiſter, and he himſelf very narrowly eſcaped being obliged to put on the monaſtick habit, which was the intention of the faction, and which was prevented only by the artifices of a monk, who ſowed diſcord among the princes. The monks now became, in the Weſt, what they had been for ſeveral centuries in the Eaſt.

Before

Before the rebellion broke out, Louis had convoked four councils, and ſubmitted to their cenſure his own conduct, that of his children, all the abuſes committed by the government, and, conſequently, the whole adminiſtration. In the acts of the council of Paris (for theſe alone are extant) we find the moſt extravagant advices given him in favour of the epiſcopal dignity. The following ſtrange addreſs to the biſhops is put into the mouth of Conſtantine—*God hath inveſted you with the power of judging us; but you cannot be judged by human authority. God hath ſet you over us as gods; and it is not conſiſtent that man ſhould judge gods. That belongs only to him of whom it is written, God ſitteth in the aſſembly of the gods, and judgeth them.* This perhaps beſt accounts for the enterpriſes of the clergy againſt crowned heads. When they ſet out from ſuch principles, to what lengths would they not carry their audacity, under princes who could neither act with prudence nor vigour!

He had ſubmitted to the epiſcopal cenſure.

Strange diſcourſe on the epiſcopal dignity.

So many repeated proofs of weakneſs, and the general amneſty which followed, were only calculated for increaſing the inſolence of the ſeditious. Meantime Louis wanted to act as maſter, which ſtill more prompted the ſubjects to rebel. He recalled Judith, who, being freed from the monaſtick veil, returned to court with all her ambition, exaſperated by a thirſt of revenge. He baniſhed Vala, whoſe puniſhment naturally provoked the fanaticiſm of his admirers. He declared, that Lothaire had forfeited the empire; and, in favour of young Charles, diſinherited the king of Aquitaine, who had been

A multiplicity of miſtakes occaſion a revolt.

been guilty of a ſecond revolt; by which means he expoſed himſelf to the irreconcileable hatred of his unnatural ſons. He even made himſelf odious to count Bernard, his miniſter, who became his enemy, becauſe he ſuffered himſelf to be guided by the counſels of a monk.

832. Gregory IV. unites with the rebel princes.

Soon after, a civil war was kindled. Lothaire, Pepin, and Louis aſſembled their troops in Alſace, againſt a father whom they deſpiſed, and looked upon as a tyrant. Pope Gregory IV. joined them, under pretence of acting as mediator; but a report being ſpread, that he was coming to excommunicate the emperour, ſome loyal biſhops reproached him with treaſon to his ſovereign; threatened him with excommunication for excommunication, and even with depoſition, if he perſiſted to ſide with the rebels. But Agobard of Lyons, the moſt celebrated of the French prelates, acted upon principles directly oppoſite; refuſing to appear at court when ſummoned by the ſovereign, and maintaining that obedience ought to be paid to the pope.

Agobard ſides with the pope.

Abuſe made of forged decretals.

Theſe errours took their riſe from the decretals forged in the time of Charlemagne, to give the popes unlimited authority: Never was impoſture attended with more pernicious conſequences. Theſe pretended decrees, which were attributed to the popes of the four firſt centuries, though evidently contrary to the diſcipline of the primitive ages, have paſſed for inviolable laws of the church, infected the legiſlative ſyſtem of every ſtate, and would ſtill preſerve their influence, had they not been demonſtrated to be ſpurious by the rules of modern criticiſm. By a compilation

compilation of texts for the moſt part drawn from this corrupt fountain, by Vala and his diſciple the monk Ratbert, Gregory was convinced, that he was inveſted with the authority of univerſal judge, and that he was amenable to no tribunal. Accordingly, his anſwer to the royaliſt prelates breathes a ſpirit of haughtineſs till then unheard of.

Louis betrayed, and ſurrenders to the rebels, by whom he is depoſed.

Mean time the emperour, having ſet out on his march at the head of a body of troops, complaining that the pontifical authority was abuſed to his prejudice, the pope was ſent to him by the artful Lothaire, under pretence of negotiating an accommodation. It is not known what paſſed between them; but all at once Louis was abandoned, the deſertion was general, and he delivered himſelf into the hands of the rebels: He was then depoſed by a tumultuous aſſembly, and the empire conferred upon his ſon; after which the pope returned to Rome.

833. The biſhops make his penance a reaſon for excluding him from the throne.

In order to give permanency to this revolution, and keep the unfortunate emperour forever in their fetters, the prelates adopted the following extraordinary method: "*A penitent,*" ſaid they, "*ought to be excluded from holding any* "*civil office; therefore a king, who is a peni-* "*tent, muſt be incapable of governing; conſe-* "*quently, to ſubject Louis to publick penance,* "*will forever bar his way to the throne.*" The principal inſtrument, in this infamous conſpiracy, was Ebbo, whom he had raiſed from a ſervile condition to the ſee of Reims; and who, after uttering a bitter invective againſt his maſ-

ter

ter, in a general aſſembly, cauſed him to be condemned to penance during life.

Ignominious circumſtances of that ceremony.

The devoted prince was informed, that, having loſt his dignity, he was now to think only of his ſalvation; and far from giving the leaſt marks of reſentment, ſtill teſtified the greateſt reſpect for thoſe traitors who were unworthy of the holy miniſtry: He was then confined in the monaſtery of St. Medard de Soiſſons, to which the biſhops repaired in order to perform the fatal ceremony. There, proſtrate on a hair cloth, he acknowledged himſelf guilty; but this was not ſufficient. A written confeſſion was preſented to him, and he was obliged to accuſe himſelf, among other crimes, of having marched a body of troops in the time of Lent, of having convoked an aſſembly on Holy Thurſday, and of having engaged in a war againſt his children; for at that time, ſuperſtition could convert the leaſt cenſurable, the moſt neceſſary actions, into crimes. Having thus confeſſed every thing required of him, he laid aſide his baldrick with his royal robes, and clothing himſelf in the ſackcloth habit of a penitent, was ſhut up in a cell. Agobard himſelf, whoſe virtue then deviated from the true path, wrote a vindication of theſe horrours. Prejudice juſtifies every thing.

834. Lothaire flies: The emperour reſtored.

But the cry of nature, the voice of juſtice, made a deeper impreſſion on the hearts of the people. Lothaire became the object of univerſal deteſtation, and his two brothers united againſt him: He dragged his father to Aix la Chapelle, from whence he afterwards brought

him

him back to Paris; and at laſt, being obliged to fly for his own ſafety, left him at St. Denis, to which the nobility immediately repaired to do him homage as their lawful ſovereign: But Louis dared not reſume that title till he had received abſolution.

He wrote to the abbot Hilduin, that he had again put on the baldrick *by the authority and ſentence of the biſhops*, attributing this bleſſing to the merits of St. Denis, and inviting the monk to write the hiſtory of his protector. Hilduin complied, and wrote a life of this firſt biſhop of Paris, or rather a romance, in which he is confounded with Dionyſius the Areopagite, and which deſcribes him, after his martyrdom, taking up his head that had been cut off, and carrying it in his hands. The ignorance of the times made theſe fables long reſpected.

He acknowledges that he owed his crown to the biſhops and St. Denis.

Fabulous life of the ſaint.

Louis brought a complaint againſt thoſe biſhops whoſe guilt was moſt flagrant, before a council held at Thionville (for it was thought they were not under the juriſdiction of any other tribunal) which thrice ſummoned Agobard of Lyons to appear, and on his third refuſal depoſed him. Ebbo, who was a priſoner, avoided the ſhame of a trial, by making a private confeſſion, and voluntarily laying down the epiſcopal character. Every thing was ſoon forgotten. The emperour reſtored Agobard, ſhewed only marks of reſpect for Gregory IV. and received an admonition from the council of Thionville, in which the pretended diſcourſe of Conſtantine, before quoted, was inculcated anew. Complying in every thing with the views

Trial of the biſhops who were moſt guilty.

of

Louis always weak.

of that assembly, he obliged Pepin to restore some church lands which were reclaimed: In a word, he employed himself in acts of devotion, while the Normans were making their usual inroads into the provinces, and intestine disorders threatened the kingdom with ruin.

New misconduct followed by a rebellion.

The same misfortunes were invariably produced by a repetition of the same faults. Pepin died, and the empress Judith caused his children to be stripped of their inheritance in favour of prince Charles, for whom she had, a little before, procured the kingdom of Neustria. Lothaire, who had before been restored to the possession of Italy, shared in the spoils of Pepin, and, on that consideration, swore to support the son of Judith. The king of Bavaria, offended with a partition in which he had no share, took arms against his father; who, though the most indulgent of parents, and the mildest of princes, was always attacked as a tyrant, because the faults of weakness may be equally odious with the rigours of despotism.

840. Death of Louis the Debonnaire.

The emperour, while on his march against this rebellious son, tortured with grief, and terrified by an eclipse of the sun, which he took for an omen of his death, fell sick in the neighbourhood of Mentz, and expired in the twenty-eighth year of his reign. He was not destitute of erudition; he had the virtues of a private man, and was well qualified for a monk, but by no means for a sovereign.

Restoration of canonical elections.

Immediately on his accession, he had restored the freedom of canonical elections, of which the clergy were very jealous, but which are not easily

easily reconcileable with the interests of the crown. Besides the intrigues and unedifying behaviour to which they had frequently given occasion, the bishops and abbots were, from a multitude of concurring causes, grown too powerful in a monarchy, for their election to be trusted to the caprice of those in whose hands it was placed. Accordingly, the kings of the first race had either appointed them immediately, or ordered whom they chose to be elected. Louis the Debonnaire felt too severely, how essential the submission of the clergy is to the safety of the prince. Luxury, pride, the spirit of dominion, the fondness of the ecclesiastical lords for secular things, and the prejudices of those whose manners were irreproachable, became the more pernicious, as they spoke in the name of the Lord, and therefore were almost always sure of being obeyed.

Were they consistent with the safety of the crown?

In 816 a law was enacted, anulling all donations made to the church in prejudice of the children, or near relations of the donator. Yet this abuse, which had been before condemned by Charlemagne, increased every day.

Donations to the church in prejudice of children.

The popes, who never let any opportunity slip, perceived the advantage they might reap from a scrupulous and pusillanimous prince. Stephen V. elected in 816, did not wait for his confirmation, but sent an excuse for omitting that formality; he came to perform the ceremony of the emperour's inauguration, who prostrated himself three times at his feet; whereas Adrian had prostrated himself before Charlemagne. What could be Stephen's motive for this

The popes took advantage of the emperour's weakness.

this journey? Probably, he looked upon the ceremony of the coronation as a title for the nomination of the emperour; which was a right arrogated by the court of Rome. Paſcal I. followed the example of Stephen V. took poſſeſſion of the pontificate without the conſent of the emperour, and in like manner made his excuſe.

Yet he exerciſed ſovereignty at Rome.

Yet Louis and Lothaire acted as ſovereigns of Rome, and ſent thither their officers for the adminiſtration of juſtice: We even find the popes making the people take the oath of allegiance to theſe princes; but the clauſe inſerted in it, "*ſaving the fidelity promiſed to the apoſtolick lord,*" (the pope) unveils their political views, the ſucceſs of which depended upon contingencies. Eugene II. and Valentine were conſecrated in preſence of the commiſſioners. Gregory IV. waited for the emperour's confirmation, yet that did not afterwards prevent his infidelity.

The Saracens in Sicily, &c.

Under the pontificate of this laſt, the Saracens, having ſubdued Sicily, infeſted the ſea of Tuſcany, and threatened Italy; when Gregory, dreading that they would make themſelves maſters of the Tiber, and attack Rome, cauſed Oſtia to be rebuilt and fortified. Saracens on the South—Normans on the North—dangers on every ſide—within, miſery, confuſion, diſcord, horrid crimes, and civil wars; ſuch is the groundwork of hiſtory for a long period. The misfortunes of France above all deſerve our attention.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Troubles and CIVIL WARS *under* CHARLES *the Bald.*

A BAD ſon will never be a good brother; for the feelings of nature being once ſtifled, the paſſions gain the predominance in the heart, and ſpurn every duty. We muſt, therefore, naturally expect to ſee the children of Louis the Debonnaire armed againſt each other. The emperour Lothaire, immediately forgetting his oaths in favour of Charles the Bald, attempted to ſtrip him of his dominions, and at the ſame time formed projects for attacking the king of Bavaria. Theſe two princes, united by common intereſt, defeated their elder brother, at Fontenai in Burgundy. Few battles have been more bloody; fraternal hatred there diſplayed its utmoſt fury.

841. Quarrels among the children of Louis the Debonnaire.

Battle of Fontenai.

The only thing now remaining was, for Louis and Charles to ſecure the dominions of a vanquiſhed and fugitive brother; for which purpoſe, they addreſſed themſelves to the clergy, with a confidence the better founded, as Lothaire, in order to procure a body of troops, had promiſed the Saxons liberty to abjure the Chriſtian religion; or, if we will ſoften the expreſſion, liberty of conſcience. A numerous meeting of biſhops was held at Aix la Chapelle; where, after making an enquiry into the emperour's conduct, they demanded of the two

The clergy give Lothaire's dominions to his brothers.

princes, whether they would follow his example, or govern conformably to the law of God? Their anſwer may be eaſily gueſſed.—*Receive this kingdom then by divine authority*, added the prelates, *we exhort you, we command you to it.* The command would have been obeyed in its full extent, had it been as much reſpected by Lothaire as it was by his brothers.

New diviſion of the empire among them.

But this prince was ſtill formidable. By a new treaty of partition, he was left in poſſeſſion of the imperial dignity, with Italy and the countries ſituated between the Rhone, the Alps, the Maes, and the Rhine. Charles preſerved Neuſtria and Aquitaine; Louis, ſurnamed the Germanick, had all the provinces to the eaſt of the Rhine, beſides ſome towns to the weſt of that river.

The monarchy threatened on every ſide.

The end of the civil war only relieved the ſtate from one of many misfortunes. The incurſions of the Normans, who will afterwards be taken more particular notice of; the enterpriſes of the Saracens, who made Italy tremble; the independence of the lords, who, during the laſt reign, had been accuſtomed to deſpiſe the prince and the laws; the diſcontent of the clergy, who were expoſed to the depredations of the ſecular nobility; all together prognoſticated fatal revolutions, and ſpread a general alarm.

Famous aſſembly at Merſen.

In an aſſembly, held at Merſen on the Maes, the three monarchs ſettled their common intereſts; when it was agreed, that the children ſhould inherit the crown of their fathers, provided they paid proper reſpect to their uncles.

This

This precaution, though inſufficient, might be a means for preventing civil wars: But ſome other regulations eſtabliſhed at the ſame time, gave a wound to the regal authority, which ſtood in need of being ſupported. It was agreed, that the vaſſals ſhould no longer be obliged to follow the king, but in general wars, or in caſe of foreign invaſions, and that every free man might chooſe whether he would hold of the king or his vaſſals. By the firſt article, the vaſſals were rendered more independent; by the ſecond, more powerful; for many ſubjects choſe rather to depend immediately on a great man, for whoſe protection they hoped, than on the ſovereign, from whom they did not expect ſo much aſſiſtance.

Regulations pernicious to the royal authority.

A few years after, Lothaire died in a monkiſh habit; a convenient piece of devotion, by which bad princes thought they might purify themſelves from their crimes at the hour of death. He had divided his dominions among his ſons, and, by virtue of the treaty of Merſen, his laſt will was executed; in conſequence of which, Louis had Italy, with the title of emperour; Lothaire II. the provinces between the Rhone, the Saone, the Maes, the Scheld, and the Rhine, which, from his name, were called the kingdom of Lorraine (*Lotharingia*); and Charles had the kingdom of Provence, between the Rhone, the Mediterranean, and the Alps. Theſe continual diviſions ſplit the empire of Charlemagne into a number of petty ſtates; nor was that the moſt pernicious conſequence.

855. Death of Lothaire. Partition of his dominions among his ſons.

Charles the Bald acts imprudently in a dangerous conjuncture.

Diſorder and terrour ſpread univerſally, chiefly in the ſtates of Charles the Bald, a prince who inherited the weakneſs of his father, and the turbulent ſpirit of his mother. The Normans, carrying fire and ſword into the heart of the kingdom, penetrated to Rouen, and even to the gates of Paris. Young Pepin, ſon of the laſt king of Aquitaine, having been forcibly thruſt into a monaſtery, rebelled from a motive of revenge, and joined the pirates. Nomenoe, duke of Bretagne, uſurped the title of king; while Charles, inſtead of taking prudent meaſures, threw away his time in holding councils, and intermeddled in a diſpute on predeſtination, which had riſen between the biſhops and monks, thus fomenting inteſtine diſcords, and abandoning the ſtate to its enemies.

Quarrel between the clergy and nobility.

The clergy quarrelled with the nobility, who ſtripped them of their domains and reclaimed *the poſſeſſions of God*; the *patrimony of the poor*, expoſed a prey to robbers, in ſuch a manner, that even abbeys of monks were in the hands of ſecular women. They threatened, excommunicated, and ſaw, with horrour, that they were held in contempt. On the other ſide, the nobles vented bitter and loud complaints againſt the clergy, deſcribing them as authors of the troubles, and enemies to the crown.

Triumph of the latter at Epernai.

In a general aſſembly held at Epernai, from which the clergy were excluded, the ſecular nobility ſucceeded ſo far as to reduce the canons of the laſt councils to a ſmall number of regulations, ſolely regarding eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. On this occaſion, the king committed two great faults; he favoured the nobles,

who

who were enemies to the royal authority, and provoked the biſhops, who by their ſpiritual arms, had it in their power to dethrone a weak monarch.

858. Louis the Germanick called in againſt his brother.

As incurable evils were every day felt, the ſpirit of revolt became almoſt univerſal. Louis the Germanick was invited by ſome factious men, to ſeize his brother's dominions, and invading them at the head of an army, received the homage of the greateſt part of the lords. Venelon, archbiſhop of Sens, was one of the chief and the moſt active of the conſpirators; nor could Charles have eſcaped deſtruction, had not the biſhops of the provinces of Rouen and Rheims refuſed to follow that example. The celebrated Hincmar wrote, in their name, a letter to the uſurper, filled with reproaches, which, notwithſtanding, ſhews leſs ſpirit than policy. *When we have ſeen*, ſay the prelates, *whether God hath reſolved to ſave the church by your means, and to put the kingdom under your dominion, we ſhall endeavour to act under your wiſe government in the manner we ſhall judge moſt expedient; for God can give a good end to what has had a bad beginning.*

Remarkable letter of Hincmar.

Though theſe expreſſions do not ſhew a fidelity proof againſt all temptation, the prelates of the two provinces did a good deal for the king by not declaring againſt him. He gained time, aſſembled an army, and drove out his brother; to whom a deputation of the French clergy then carried ſevere orders, as if their juriſdiction would extend over Germany. Being ſummoned by them to ſubmit to penance and the hardeſt conditions,

Louis driven out; mandates ſent him by the French biſhops.

His mean ſpirited anſwer.

conditions, Louis only replied, that he could not take any reſolution without conſulting the biſhops of his kingdom. Thus he gave marks of weakneſs, even in his reſiſtance.

Trial of Venelon archbiſhop of Sens.

The behaviour of Charles the Bald, with regard to the traitor Venelon, is no leſs ſingular. A council being aſſembled at Savonieres, near Toul, for trying that prelate, the king preſented a requeſt againſt him, containing the following paſſage—*I ought not to have been depoſed, or, at leaſt, not before I had been tried by the biſhops who gave me the royal unction; I have always been ſubmiſſive to their correction, and am ready to ſubmit to it again.* Venelon eſcaped condemnation by making his peace with the prince; and the biſhops of the council obliged themſelves, by a canon, to remain united, *in order to correct the kings, the grandees, and the people.*

Requeſt of king Charles.

The biſhops thought themſelves entitled to diſpoſe of the crown.

The clergy ſhewed on every occaſion, that they thought they had a right to diſpoſe of the crown; founding their pretenſion on the privilege of anointing the kings; a ceremony which, though inſtituted in favour of Pepin, they aſſerted to be as ancient as the days of Clovis; at the ſame time that they employed all the arts of ſophiſtry and fiction to make themſelves independent, and refuſed to take the oath of allegiance, *becauſe conſecrated hands could not, without abomination, ſubmit themſelves to impure hands*; and theſe pretenſions, though ſo indefenſible, gained a firm footing by cuſtom. One ſtep led to another; an abuſe eſtabliſhed a right; a quibble appeared a divine law; ignorance authoriſed every thing; and

How their pretenſions gained ſtrength.

what

what was the concluſion naturally to be drawn from the ſhameful words of that prince, who acknowledged in a council, that the biſhops had power to depoſe him? It muſt be allowed, that the exceſſes of the clergy, in a great meaſure, originated from the blindneſs and vices of the laity. Our eccleſiaſtical hiſtories diſſemble none of the facts I have mentioned; which is a ſtrong teſtimony even in favour of the clergy, when they condemn what, in former ages, opinion ſeemed to have rendered ſacred. (*Vid. Fleury*, and *Hiſt. de l'Egl. Gallicane.*)

CHAP. VI.

Enterpriſes of the POPES.——*Divorce of* LOTHAIRE, *and its Conſequences.*——*Death of* CHARLES *the Bald.*

THE ſucceſs of the biſhops in eſtabliſhing their ſyſtem of independence, paved the way for that of the Romiſh court. Sergius II. who ſucceeded Gregory IV. in 844, having taken poſſeſſion of the See, without the conſent of Lothaire, then emperour; that monarch, in a rage, ſent his ſon, attended by a body of troops and ſome prelates, to Rome, when the pope, after conducting the prince to the gate of St. Peter, ſaid to him—*I permit you to enter, if your intentions be good; if not, I will not allow you.* He even cauſed the gates of the city to be ſhut, on

The popes become more independent. Anecdote of Sergius II.

on occaſion of ſome diſturbances committed by the French. Complaints were made, and Sergius was ſummoned before a council, where he appeared and juſtified himſelf. Leo IV. celebrated for his brave defence of Rome againſt the Saracens, and Benedict III. elected notwithſtanding Lothaire's oppoſition, entered into no quarrels with the crowned heads: But Nicholas I. more enterpriſing than any of his predeceſſors, arrogated to himſelf the power of judging kings as well as biſhops, and realized the chimerical ideas of the falſe decretals.

Maxims of Nicholas I. in favour of the papacy againſt crowned heads.

The maxims contained in his letters, and rendered ſacred by his conduct, are—that the Holy See has authority to approve or condemn all writings (whence it would follow, that whatever the popes have written or approved, is true, and whatever they have condemned is falſe. This would go great lengths)—that in all eccleſiaſtical cauſes an appeal lay to the pope; and that he might ſend legates into every kingdom, for the purpoſe of aſſembling councils in order to try them—that even, if there was no appeal, they ought to be referred to his judgment (he would then be, properly ſpeaking, the ſole judge of the world)—that in caſe of contrariety between the laws and canons, the authority of the latter ought to prevail (which would greatly weaken the legiſlative power)—that princes ſhould be obeyed, provided they obſerve a proper conduct, and govern as they ought:—*Otherwiſe*, ſays he, *they are to be accounted tyrants, rather than kings; and to be reſiſted, inſtead of being obeyed by favouring their vices.*

vices. The true ſenſe of this maxim, as it has been often practiſed, is, that a bad prince, eſpecially a prince who diſobeys the church, loſes his rights to the crown. Yet St. Peter enjoined obedience to the king as ſupreme; and he ſpoke of Nero. But every thing was greatly changed ſince the days of St. Peter.

862. Lothaire divorces his wife, and marries his concubine.

An excellent opportunity was preſented to the pope, for exerciſing in France the authority which he arrogated to himſelf. Lothaire, king of Lorraine, divorced his wife Teutberga, on a falſe charge of inceſt. She had firſt juſtified herſelf by the *ordeal* of boiling water, but was afterwards convicted on her own confeſſion, if an involuntary confeſſion, extorted by violence and fear, could be a ground for conviction. By a council held at Aix la Chapelle, Lothaire was authoriſed to marry his concubine Valdrada; a match which he eagerly wiſhed; to ſuch dangerous lengths was he hurried by his criminal paſſion. As the ſcandal was flagrant, Nicholas took the affair into his own hands, and endeavoured to force the prince to take back his firſt wife. It was unqueſtionably this pontiff's duty to admoniſh and exhort, but could he judge and conſtrain him?

Notion of marriage: Cuſtom of divorce.

Till then marriage had been regarded leſs as a ſacrament (though the church conſidered it in that light) than as the moſt eſſential of all civil contracts. The Roman emperours had regulated its conditions, and the Roman laws, which permitted divorce, had continued to be binding long after Conſtantine: Charlemagne had put away two wives, and no ill conſequences had followed;

lowed; the councils of Verberie and Compeigne, held in the middle of the eighth century, had even publiſhed canons favourable to that practice. So prevalent was the influence of the manners and cuſtoms of the age, againſt the true doctrine of indiſſolubility of marriage. The pope's attempt then appeared the more extraordinary, as the king's fault was varniſhed by an eccleſiaſtical judgment, and Baldwin earl of Flanders, who had raviſhed a daughter of Charles the Bald, was at that very time protected by the pope.

Nicholas attempts to try the king of Lorraine, &c.

Notwithſtanding, Nicholas ordered the biſhops to hold a council at Metz, in conjunction with his legates, to which they were to ſummon Lothaire, and proceed on his trial. The council having confirmed the divorce, contrary to the expectation of the pope, he depoſed the biſhops of Treves and Cologne, who had been ſent to preſent him with its acts; upon which theſe prelates laid their complaints before the emperour Louis, who, repairing to Rome, diſplayed his whole authority, and ſeemed reſolved to check the pontifical power; but falling ſick, he was ſeized with the terrours of ſuperſtition, and retired, after having approved the conduct of Nicholas, who grew more imperious than before. Lothaire in vain humbled himſelf ſo far, as to promiſe to come and plead his cauſe in perſon. The pope inſiſted on Valdrada's being diſmiſſed beforehand. At laſt, Lothaire was threatened by a legate with a prompt excommunication, if he perſiſted in his diſobedience; and this prince being intimidated, not only re-

He continues inflexible notwithſtanding every ſubmiſſion.

called

called Teutberga, but even conſented that the legate ſhould take Valdrada to Rome; a kind of triumph which was an indecent inſult on the royal dignity. Valdrada eſcaped while on the road, and in a ſhort time reſumed her place of queen and miſtreſs. The unfortunate Teutberga, unable longer to bear the weight of perſecution, voluntarily demanded leave to ſeparate from Lothaire, proteſting, that her own marriage was null, and Valdrada's legitimate; but nothing could bend Nicholas.

His attempts in other matters.

A little before, he had gained a victory over the French clergy, by reſtoring Rothade of Soiſſons, who had been depoſed by a provincial council. He received the appeals from all the eccleſiaſticks who were diſſatisfied with their biſhops; thus accuſtoming the different nations to acknowledge, as ſupreme, a tribunal without the limits of their own country, and conſequently a foreign dominion. He gave orders for ſettling the ſucceſſion of the king of Provence, which Charles the Bald diſputed with the emperour Louis, brother to the defunct. *Let no one*, theſe are the terms of his mandate, *offer any impediment to the emperour, in the government of the kingdoms which he holds from a ſucceſſion confirmed by the Holy See, and by the crown, which the ſovereign pontiff hath put on his head.*

He is reproached with uſurping the empire of the world.

When the biſhops of Treves and Cologne publiſhed an invective againſt him, charging him with aſpiring to univerſal empire, was this expreſſion, though too harſh, entirely without foundation? Nicholas I. may be looked upon as the precurſor of Gregory VII. and, in the ſame

ſame circumſtances, would probably have been guilty of the like exceſſes. He died in 867.

869. Lothaire goes to Rome in order to juſtify himſelf.

So much had his principles prevailed, that Adrian II. who was a man of more moderation, and a lover of peace, thought he acted with great condeſcenſion when he permitted the king of Lorraine to come to Rome, either to juſtify himſelf, or receive penance. Charles the Bald, and Louis the Germanick, waited with impatience for the excommunication of their nephew, from a perſuaſion that they would then have a right to ſtrip him of his dominions. Thus did the blind ambition of princes favour attempts, which they ought to have foreſeen might one day be turned againſt themſelves.

He is acquitted.

Lothaire ſet out, and uſed every imaginable method to ſoften the pope. He received the communion from his hand, after having ſworn that he had abſtained from all criminal correſpondence with Valdrada, ſince the prohibition laid on him by Nicholas, and that he ſhould have none for the future. On his return from Rome he died at Placentia. It was not doubted, that his

His death.

death was a divine puniſhment for his perjury; and this accident gave new authority for the trial by the euchariſt.

Adrian II. threatens the king of France as an uſurper.

The emperour Louis II. brother of Lothaire, was his lawful heir; but being employed againſt the Saracens, who were maſters of Bari and Tarento, and ravaged Italy, he could not ſupport his rights by force of arms; Adrian, therefore, attempted to ſupply them by threatening to excommunicate the uſurpers. *The arms which God hath put into our hands*, ſays he in his

his letter, *are prepared for his defence*. However, Charles the Bald did not miſs the opportunity of ſeizing upon the ſucceſſion, and the nobles, eſpecially the biſhops of Lorraine, voluntarily ſubmitted. His brother the Germanick had a ſhare in this rich booty.

Famous letter of Hincmar to the pope.

On this occaſion, the famous Hincmar of Reims addreſſed a ſpirited remonſtrance to the pope, in which he puts him in mind of the reſpect and obedience paid to crowned heads by the ancient popes, at the ſame time repreſenting to him, that his dignity gives him no title to claim the government of ſtates; that he could not at once be biſhop and king; that it is the privilege of the people to chooſe their ſovereigns; that anathemas, when miſapplied, have no ſpiritual force; that *free* men will not ſuffer themſelves to be enſlaved by a biſhop of Rome, &c.

Attempt of Adrian againſt Charles the Bald.

Adrian, far from yielding to thoſe reaſons, vented his reſentment both againſt the king and Hincmar. He ſided with Carloman, ſon of Charles the Bald, a deacon and abbot of ſeveral monaſteries, who had rebelled and headed a gang of robbers; ordered the king to reſtore his lands and honours; and prohibited the ſubjects, under pain of damnation, from bearing arms againſt him; from the ſame ſpirit of animoſity, he declared in favour of the biſhop of Laon, Hincmar's nephew, who was at variance both with the ſovereign and his uncle. But, at laſt, the pope changed his language as circumſtances varied. Seeing the inutility of his threats, and being deſirous of gaining the king of France, becauſe the emperour was at the

The pope at laſt publickly flatters Charles.

point

point of death, he wrote a letter to Charles, in which he loaded him with praiſes, expreſſed the greateſt admiration of his piety and wiſdom, and promiſed to acknowledge no other emperour, though he ſhould be tempted with buſhels of gold. This is the laſt letter written by Adrian II. a man equally enterpriſing with Nicholas, but leſs obſtinate, and a more artful politician.

875. John VIII. confers the empire on that prince.

His ſucceſſor John VIII. executed his project in favour of Charles. The emperour being deceaſed, without leaving any male children, and Louis the Germanick ſeeming to draw near his end, after which, his kingdom would be weakened by being divided among his three ſons; Charles the Bald, who had but one heir of his body, ſeemed moſt capable of protecting the court of Rome; and this circumſtance inſured him the preference. He therefore paſſed the Alps with an army, and received the imperial crown as a gift from the pontiff, and, in an aſſembly at Pavia, was acknowledged by the biſhops, abbots, and nobles of Italy, in the following terms—*Whereas the divine goodneſs, by the merits of the holy apoſtles, and by their vicar his holineſs, John, hath raiſed you to the empire, according to the judgment of the Holy Spirit, we unanimouſly elect you for our protector and lord.* The conſequences which may eaſily be drawn from theſe formularies, make them highly worthy of notice.

Form of his being acknowledged by the Italians.

He endeavours to eſtabliſh a vicar in France.

Charles, who had been laviſh of his treaſures, and in a manner purchaſed the empire, brought with him a mandate from the pope, creating the archbiſhop of Sens vicar of the Holy See, with

with power to aſſemble councils and regulate affairs: This order he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to carry into execution at the council of Ponthyon; but he could obtain from the convocation only this anſwer—*We will obey the pope according to the rules, as our predeceſſors obeyed his.* Hincmar of Reims and the other biſhops, at leaſt on ſome occaſions, knew how to defend the liberty of their churches. A vicar of the pope would ſoon have become their maſter.

Charles endeavours to ſeize the dominions of the ſons of his brother Louis the Germanick.

After the death of Louis the Germanick, Charles the Bald, always ambitious and imprudent, wanted to ſeize part of the ſucceſſion, but gained nothing except a ſhameful defeat. His three nephews, Carloman, Louis, and Charles, preſerved their inheritance. The firſt had Bavaria, the ſecond Saxony, and the third Suabia.

877. Called to aſſiſt the pope againſt the Saracens.

While the whole empire was thus diſmembered and weakened, the Saracens continued their incurſions, and plundered Comacchio; when pope John ſummoned the emperour to his aſſiſtance, calling upon him to remember the hand which gave him the empire, *Leſt*, added he, *if you drive us to deſpair, you perhaps make us change our ſentiments.* This threat, which was very plain, had its full effect. Though France was overrun by a deluge of Normans, whom Charles was unable to reſiſt, he undertook an expedition againſt the Saracens; but ſcarce was he arrived in Italy, when he received news, that his nephew Carloman was on his march to deprive him of the imperial crown; upon which, he was abandoned by his lords,

Charles dies in Italy.

and

and obliged to fly; when, being ſeized with a diſtemper, he died in a cottage, at the age of fifty four.

A capitulary making fiefs hereditary.

By a capitulary, eſtabliſhed in the laſt year of his reign, the nobles were permitted to tranſmit their employments to their ſons or relations. This is one of the principal foundations of the feudal government, which was eſtabliſhed on the ruins of the regal power. But from the time of Charlemagne's death, every thing tended to anarchy. I ſhall only add here, that, the nation being divided, the lay lords forming one party, the eccleſiaſticks another, while the people were without influence, and the royal authority was unable to balance the contending parties, the whole kingdom was unavoidably torn by inteſtine convulſions.

CHAP. VII.

Incurſions of the NORMANS *into* FRANCE *and* ENGLAND.—*Reign of* ALFRED *the Great.*

General idea of the Normans.

HITHERTO we have only hinted at the enterpriſes of the Normans, whoſe piratical incurſions infeſted Europe, and were a prelude to new revolutions. It is of ſome importance to form an idea of their character, and their ſanguinary expeditions. The name of Normans (men of the North) was given to the inhabitants of ancient Scandinavia, at preſent Sweden

Sweden and Norway, to which we muſt add Denmark. From thoſe countries originated ſeveral German nations, which ſettled in the Roman Empire. Theſe tribes preſerved the Celtick manners, which were the ſame as the Scythian, ſimple, hardy, ferocious, and calculated for making them dreadful conquerors. Their religion correſponded with their manners. Their ſupreme god was Odin, named by the Saxons Woden, whom they deſcribed as *the terrible god, the author of devaſtation, the father of carnage, the incendiary, &c.* Human victims were ſacrificed to him; his rewards were believed to be reſerved for thoſe who ſlew the greateſt number of warriors in battle; the happineſs to which they aſpired was, to intoxicate themſelves with beer in his hall. The ſkulls of their ſlain enemies were the precious cups which were to be uſed in their eternal carouſals.

Their ſavage religion.

Their notions of the happineſs of another life.

How was it poſſible for innumerable nations to transform the Father of Nature, the infinitely good being, into a ſanguinary and deſtroying tyrant? The reaſon is, that, men immerſed in ignorance, form a divinity according to their own taſte, and aſcribe to him the ſame paſſions with themſelves. If any of theſe Barbarians reaſoned, he muſt inevitably plunge into atheiſm, as he could not but reject monſtrous opinions, and had no idea of a pure and infinite ſpirit. Accordingly we find a warrior ſaying to Olaus, a chriſtian king of Sweden, in the eleventh century—*My comrades and I place con-*

Thoſe who attempted to reaſon fell into atheiſm.

ſidence only in our own ſtrength; that is our ſole religion, and, in our opinion, all that is neceſſary.

Their principles and emigrations.

The grand principle of the Celtæ, particularly the Scandinavians, was, that force made the foundation of right, and that victory was a proof of juſtice. They referred every thing to war, by the ſpirit of which they were ſolely animated, and haſtened from one expedition to another in order to amaſs booty. Hence thoſe frequent emigrations, falſely attributed to exceſſive population (for arts and cultivation were almoſt utterly unknown among them) emigrations which only proceeded from their daring rapacity, and which neceſſarily drained theſe ſavage countries of inhabitants.

Their courage inherited by the women.

Fatigues, wounds, and arms, were in ſome meaſure ſports of their infancy and youth. Even the name of fear was prohibited to be mentioned in the moſt dreadful dangers. The women, as well as the men, deſpiſed death; to which they not only ſubmitted with intrepidity, but frequently affected to meet it with marks of joy.

Contempt of death.

Their education, prejudices, and manners, the examples that were ſet them, and their being inured to ſuffering, all contributed to conquer nature. They only wanted military diſcipline to inſure to them the conqueſt of poliſhed nations. By that alone Marius had triumphed over the Cimbri, who came from the neighbourhood of Scandinavia; but, in the times we ſpeak of, there were no Romans exiſting.

Charlemagne

Charlemagne prevented the irruptions of the Normans, by eſtabliſhing a naval force, which guarded the mouths of the rivers. Under Louis Debonnaire, they ſpread an alarm in France, and under Charles the Bald committed dreadful ravages. Their fleets, which conſiſted of ſmall light veſſels, braved the ſtorms of the ocean, and penetrated into every quarter. They laid waſte the coaſts, and made their way into the heart of the provinces; nor was it poſſible to ſtop their progreſs. The government was incapable of taking any precaution, and the people having no protector, ſunk under their fears. The ſteps of thoſe robbers were every where marked with blood and fire. With the booty, they carried off their children, whom they made pirates, and thus ſupplied the loſs of population. Scarce had they withdrawn, when they returned with new forces. In ſhort, they twice pillaged Rouen, ſurpriſed and burnt Paris in 845, laid waſte Aquitaine and other provinces with fire and ſword, and reduced the king to the laſt extremities.

Irruptions of the Normans after the time of Charlemagne.

Their ravages.

Charles intrenched himſelf at St. Denis, while his capital fell a prey to the Barbarians; and neither he, nor the people, thought of any thing but ſecuring the relicks. Inſtead of fighting, he purchaſed, or believed he purchaſed, a peace, for ſeven thouſand pounds weight of ſilver; which was furniſhing the enemy with the means, and inflaming them with the deſire of ſoon renewing the war. They diſregarded their oaths, and the miracles ſince related by the monks made little impreſſion on them. A

Peace purchaſed by Charles the Bald.

Norman captain plundering the church of St. Germain, according to the monaſtick chronicles, was miraculouſly thrown down, and cried out, that the ſaint was ſtunning him with blows. However, his countrymen ſtill continued their depredations, of which the churches were a principal object.

Tax levied for a contribution to the Normans.

To complete the diſgrace, Charles the Bald, when he marched to aſſiſt the pope in the laſt year of his reign, publiſhed a capitulary, ſettling the contributions that ſhould be paid to the Normans. Noblemen were taxed a penny per houſe; freemen and *ſerfs* in proportion; and the biſhops were commanded to make their prieſt contribute. Theſe were the arms uſed by the king and the nation for their defence. The Saracens of Spain acted with more ſpirit, and forced the pirates who attacked them to retire.

England likewiſe ravaged.

If England felt the ſame ſcourge, ſhe found a ſaviour in a great prince. Under Ethelwolf, ſucceſſor of Egbert, the Danes committed many ravages, becauſe the king neglected the cares of government for the practices of devotion. Three of his ſons reigned after him, in a manner equally inglorious. But happily, their younger brother Alfred mounted the throne in 871; a man who ſeemed a prodigy in that age of horrors. He conſtantly kept an army on foot againſt the Danes, and had gained ſeveral victories over them; but new ſwarms of pirates coming inceſſantly to join the former, his troops were diſcouraged, and abandoned him: He was therefore obliged to diſguiſe himſelf

Alfred mounts the throne in 871.

His misfortunes.

ſelf like a peaſant, and lived for ſome months in the houſe of a ſhepherd; after which he fortified himſelf in a moraſs, and from thence made incurſions on the enemy, watching an opportunity to vanquiſh them.

How he defeated the Danes.

At laſt, receiving news that an Engliſh nobleman had beaten the Danes in a rencounter, he quitted his retreat, dreſſed himſelf like a harper, entered their camp with ſecurity, amuſed and deceived them, examined every part of it, was witneſs to their neglect of diſcipline and blind confidence, formed the plan of an atttack, and withdrew to put it in execution. Soon after, he gave notice where he was, and aſſembled his beſt ſubjects, who thought him dead. Multitudes flocked to his ſtandard, and, having defeated the Danes, he formed a ſcheme to convert them into ſubjects; with which view, he gave them permiſſion to ſettle in Northumberland and Eaſt Anglia (which had been reduced to a deſert) on condition that they embraced Chriſtianity. This mild policy ſeemed the beſt that could be purſued in his circumſtances. The ſavage manners of the pirates might be ſoftened by the practice of agriculture and the influence of religion; they might become the defenders of a ſtate where they had a fixed ſettlement, and would naturally love and reſpect a beneficent monarch, who had made them ſenſible of his valour and his reſources. All the conditions were complied with, and England, at laſt, had time to breathe.

He permits them to ſettle in the diſpeopled provinces.

Wiſdom of his government.

The matter moſt eſſential being to prevent new diſaſters, Alfred contrived the means, and put

put them in execution. He repaired the fortifications, cantoned regular troops in the provinces, formed a conſiderable fleet in a ſhort time, exerciſed the Engliſh in navigation, which they had before neglected, governed with the utmoſt prudence and equity, and paid unremitting attention to the wants of the publick. Theſe were the firſt fruits of the peace, and pledges of ſecurity and victory. A dreadful irruption of the Danes, in 895, renewed the misfortunes of France, but to England it was only a fleeting ſtorm, Alfred ſoon ſcattering the enemy.

His regulations for the exerciſe of juſtice and maintenance of good order.

He dedicated the reſt of his reign to political objects, worthy of his genius and elevated ſoul. He perfected the laws, adminiſtered juſtice in perſon, and cauſed it to be adminiſtered by others; eſtabliſhed the *juries* for trying criminals (it is on the verdict of theſe *juries*, who are the *peers* of the accuſed, that the judges paſs ſentence) and divided the kingdom into counties, the counties into *hundreds* and *decennaries*, or ſmall diſtricts, in ſuch a manner, that order, harmony and ſubordination, were eaſily maintained. As the law exerted its authority over every individual, publick liberty was eſtabliſhed. It was the deſire of Alfred, to ſecure the freedom of the Engliſh by enforcing the laws; he obeyed them himſelf, and by that obedience ſecured his power.

He encourages and cultivates learning.

As knowledge, which enlightens the reaſon in order to form the manners, appeared to him one of the moſt proper means for making his ſubjects happy, he drew learned men to his court, eſtabliſhed ſchools, founded the famous

univerſity

niverſity of Oxford, and conſtantly rewarded merit. He encouraged application to learning by his own example, and wrote a treatiſe of morality: Neither arts, agriculture, nor commerce; in ſhort, nothing eſcaped the active zeal by which he was animated, and he ſcattered on every ſide the ſeeds of happineſs and virtue. Unhappily, too many obſtacles prevented them from taking root, and they were almoſt entirely deſtroyed under the following reigns. This monarch, ſo highly worthy of admiration, and perhaps ſuperiour to Charlemagne, died in 901, at the age of fifty three. His death.

CHAP. VIII.

Total DECAY *of the* FRENCH EMPIRE.

THE continent of Europe preſents us only with ſcenes of calamity, diſorder, and anarchy. We ſee Louis the Stammerer, ſon of Charles the Bald, in a manner purchaſe the crown, on the terms inſolently preſcribed to him by the biſhops and ſecular lords. He was not acknowledged, till after he had promiſed to the firſt, that the clergy ſhould be maintained in poſſeſſion of the wealth and exerciſe of the privileges which they enjoyed under Louis the Debonnaire. Hincmar of Reims had exacted a ſimilar promiſe from Charles the Bald. The ſovereigns

Louis the Stammerer in a manner enſlaved by his ſubjects.

ſovereigns found themſelves obliged to come to a compoſition with ſubjects, who were too regardleſs of the publick weal.

878. John VIII. though a fugitive, commands in France.

John VIII. came and held a council at Troyes in Champagne, in order to excommunicate Lambert duke of Spoleto, and Adalbert duke of Tuſcany, who attacked the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. A canon of this council bears—*That the ſecular powers ſhall never have the boldneſs to ſit in preſence of the biſhops, unleſs they be commanded.* This fugitive pope, while in France, enacted general laws, affected to dictate to the ſovereigns, crowned the king, and demanded ſuccours under pain of divine vengeance: Barely to hint at theſe circumſtances, will ſufficiently enable us to judge of the ſtate of the monarchy.

Louis the Stammerer was ſucceeded, in 879, by Louis III. and Carloman, two ſons by a former wife, whom he had divorced. Duke Boſon, Carloman's father in law, procured them the crown; they ſhared the government, and lived in amity, but, notwithſtanding, the kingdom was diſmembered by the ſubjects. A council held at Manté, in Dauphiné, gave *by divine inſpiration* (theſe are the expreſs words) the kingdom of Arles, or Provence, to that duke Boſon; an ambitious, artful nobleman, who, having gained the pope and clergy by his intrigues, eaſily prevailed on them to betray the houſe of Charlemagne. Carloman, king of Bavaria, was maſter of Italy, and beſides, cauſed a part of Lorraine to be ceded to him. The greateſt part of the royal domain was already in the

Boſon made king of Provence by a council.

Diſmemberments.

hands

hands of the lords, and a king of France poſſeſſed almoſt nothing.

884. The emperour Charles the Fat elected king of France.

After the death of the two ſons of Louis the Stammerer, who had been thus plundered of their poſſeſſions, the right of inheritance devolved by the order of ſucceſſion on their brother Charles, afterwards ſurnamed the Simple; but, as he was only five years of age, and the circumſtances required a king capable of reſiſting the enemy, the election fell upon Charles the Fat, ſon of Louis the Germanick, who had already ſucceeded to the empire, and inherited the dominions of his two brothers. Thus the whole French empire, excepting the dominions of the uſurper Boſon, was again united under one head; but that head, deſtitute of genius and courage, was unequal to the management of ſuch extenſive territories. Charles had diſhonoured himſelf by purchaſing the retreat of the Normans, whoſe fury was likewiſe felt by the Germans. After making a ceſſion of Friezland, and promiſing to pay them a tribute, he irritated them by an act of treachery, at the ſame time that he ſhewed himſelf contemptible by his want of ſpirit. They now fell upon France with greater fury than ever, penetrated as far as Pontoiſe, burnt that town, and afterwards beſieged Paris.

The Normans irritated by his perfidy and meanneſs of ſpirit.

886. Famous ſiege of Paris.

This ſiege is celebrated in hiſtory: Both ſides performed wonders. Eudes count of Paris, whom we ſhall afterwards ſee upon the throne, his brother Robert, the biſhop Goſlin, and after him the biſhop Anſcherick, and the abbot Eble, Goſlin's nephew, particularly ſignalized their

their valour and courage. The beſieged held out upwards of a year, and Charles did not make his appearance.

Charles bribes the enemy to retire.

Being called to the relief of his capital, he at laſt arrived at the head of a numerous army; but though almoſt ſure of victory, he had not the courage to venture an engagement, and rather choſe to enter into a diſgraceful negociation, by which he obliged himſelf to pay the enemy ſeven hundred thouſand pounds weight of ſilver, and permitted them to march into Burgundy, in order to wait for the payment of the money; that is, to continue their ravages.

Church of St. Germain pillaged.

The Normans had converted the monaſtery of St. Germain into ſtables, and extorted from the monks fourteen hundred marks of ſilver to ranſom themſelves from the flames. The monks afterwards attributed to this ſaint the deliverance of Paris.

Revolts againſt Charles.

All the nations of the French empire were filled with indignation at the emperour's infamous conduct, and breathed only the ſpirit of revolt.

In Germany.

The Germans firſt took up arms. Charles had excited the reſentment of the nobility of that country, by endeavouring to aboliſh the hereditary fiefs, and drawn upon himſelf the hatred of the biſhops, by proſecuting Luitward biſhop of Verceil, his prime miniſter, on a charge of criminal correſpondence with the empreſs. The prelate ſtirred up the malecontents, and the emperour was depoſed in a diet; after which, he was reduced to depend for his ſubſiſtence on the liberalities of the biſhop of Mentz, and Arnolph, a natural ſon of Carloman, king of Bavaria,

varia, was elected his ſucceſſor. Italy ſubmitted to Berengerius duke of Friuli, and Guy duke of Spoleto; both deſcended from the royal family of France by the mother's ſide, and both formerly friends; but they became rivals, and tore that country in pieces by their mutual wars. In Italy.

Count Eudes, who had ſaved Paris, and whoſe father Robert the Strong, duke of France, had likewiſe diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his heroiſm, was elected king; but ſeemed to accept the crown only as tutor to Charles the Simple. Theſe great men were the anceſtors of Hugh Capet, firſt king of the third race. In France. Eudes elected king.

Beſides the continual uſurpations of the nobles, France was weakened by new diſmemberments, notwithſtanding the courage and abilities of the famous Eudes. A party ſtarting up in favour of the lawful heir, Eudes ceded to him a ſhare of the kingdom. Count Raoul, or Rodolph, erected the kingdom of Burgundy Tranſjurana, in which were comprehended Bugei, Savoy, Geneva, and part of Switzerland. The name of Burgundy Cisjurana (from its ſituation with reſpect to Mount Jura) was given to the kingdom of Arles, which was confirmed by a council to the ſon of Boſon, at it had been granted by a council to the father. Hiſtory would become a mere chaos, were it to enter into a detail of the events produced by violence and artifice in this ſtate of anarchy, during which fiefs were inceſſantly wreſted from the crown. He divides the kingdom with Charles the Simple. Kingdom of Burgundy Tranſjurana.

Eudes

912. Charles the Simple grants a ſettlement to the Normans.

Eudes died in 898, without being able to cure the wounds of the ſtate; and Charles the Simple, who too well deſerved the ſurname, could only increaſe them by his weakneſs. The nobles, who all aſpired to independence, were inveterate enemies to each other, and the Normans ſeized the opportunity of ſecuring an eſtabliſhment.

Rollo duke of Normandy.

Rollo, one of their moſt diſtinguiſhed chiefs, after having ſtruck terrour into England, invaded France, made himſelf maſter of Rouen, and converted it into a place of arms. He became ſo formidable, that the king offered him his daughter in marriage, with the maritime country which was laid waſte by the pirates. A biſhop, who was charged with the negotiation, only required the Norman to turn Chriſtian, and diſcourſed to him on the torments of hell and the joys of paradiſe. Rollo was determined by his intereſt. After having conſulted his ſoldiers, to whom religion was a matter of indifference, he promiſed to conclude the treaty, on condition that Bretagne ſhould likewiſe be ceded to him until the other province was cultivated. This was agreed to, and he paid homage to the crown, rather like a conqueror than a vaſſal.

He makes his ſubjects happy.

This warrior was worthy of founding a ſtate. Normandy, which took its name from the pirates, became happy, and flouriſhed under his laws. He conquered the ferocity of his people, and made them apply to agriculture, inſtead of piracy; in a word, he entirely put an end to robbery among the Barbarians, who were accuſtomed to live by rapine. So great is the power

of

of the laws, when agriculture inſpires a reliſh for ſocial life! In the ſame manner had the deſtroyers of the Roman empire given permanency to their power.

The weak Charles, governed by Haganon, an odious miniſter, was equally deſpiſed by the nobility and the Normans. Robert, brother of king Eudes, formed a conſpiracy againſt him; when Charles, inſtead of aſſembling an army, had recourſe to a council, and cauſed thoſe who ſhould revolt to be excommunicated beforehand. The rebellion, after being ſome time ſuſpended, broke out again in 922, when Charles was conſtrained to diſmiſs his miniſter; on which condition the malecontents promiſed to obey him another year. But at the end of ſeven months the archbiſhop of Reims, who had granted him an aſylum in his dioceſe, turned traitor, and crowned Robert. The new king was ſlain in a battle; and his ſon Hugh the Great, or the Abbot, though he might have mounted the throne, choſe rather to beſtow it upon Rodolph duke of Burgundy, who gained over the great lords by profuſe donations of his domains.

Revolt againſt king Charles.

He is deprived of his dominions and dethroned.

Herbert Count de Veronandois had decoyed Charles, under pretence of undertaking his defence, and kept him priſoner. He afterwards reſtored him to liberty; but it was to betray him anew, on conſideration of the county of Laon, which was ceded to him by Rodolph. The ſame year Charles died in priſon.

929. He dies in priſon.

Under his deplorable reign, the houſe of France loſt Germany, with the empire. Pope

Revolutions in Italy.

Stephen

Stephen VI. had ſet the imperial crown on the head of Guy duke of Spoleto, the enemy of Berengerius, and afterwards beſtowed it on Lambert, ſon of that ambitious duke. Pope Formoſus had crowned Arnolph, the natural ſon of Carloman, after having engaged him to ſeize Rome. Louis IV. ſon of Arnolph, a child only ſeven years of age, had ſucceeded him in the ſovereignty of Germany. Another Louis, king of Arles, ſon of the uſurper Boſon, had obliged Benedict IV. to crown him emperour: But Berengerius ſurpriſed him at Verona, put out his eyes, and again aſcended the throne of Italy. Theſe revolutions were a prelude to others of greater importance.

Berengerius remains king.

The houſe of France no longer ſovereigns of Germany.

After the death of Louis IV. in 911, Charles the Simple was rightful heir of Germany; but the Germans deſpiſed him too much to acknowledge him, and he was too weak even to claim the ſucceſſion. The ſtates unanimouſly choſe Otho duke of Saxony; who refuſing the crown, on account of his advanced age, propoſed Conrad duke of Franconia. Conrad was therefore raiſed to the ſovereignty of Germany by the ſuffrages of the nation. Berengerius, king of Italy, was crowned emperour, in 916, by pope John X. Thus was the poſterity of Charlemagne ſucceſſively ſtript of all the acquiſitions that hero had made by his policy and victories, becauſe none of them had ſhewn themſelves worthy of him.

Conrad duke of Franconia elected king.

Ravages of the Huns, or Hungarians.

The calamities under which Europe had ſo long groaned, were renewed by an unforeſeen ſcourge. The emperour Arnolph had called in the

the Huns, or Hungarians, to aſſiſt him againſt the king of Moravia, and thrown down the fortifications conſtructed by Charlemagne along the Raab, in order to ſtop their incurſions. Equally ferocious with their anceſtors, they were in a ſhort time the deſtroyers of their allies. In the year 901 they ravaged Bavaria, Suabia, and Franconia, and all Germany afterwards became a prey to their rapacious fury. Louis IV. having ſubmitted to pay a yearly tribute, in order to get rid of them, they fell upon Italy, and repeatedly pillaged it. In the reign of Conrad I. they again ſpread devaſtation in Germany; and he in like manner became their tributary. They penetrated into Lorraine, and even into Languedock, plundering the country, maſſacring the inhabitants, and ſparing nothing.

Miſeries accompanied by fanaticiſm.

We muſt not be ſurpriſed, that ſo many miſeries gave birth to fanaticiſm. The end of the world was univerſally believed to be at hand, and all ſtripped themſelves of their poſſeſſions to beſtow them on churches and monaſteries. Diſorders multiplied among the lower ranks of people, the clergy, the nobility, and in the governments. A perverſion of reaſon, and the moſt profound ignorance, form the characteriſticks of the tenth century; conſequently acts of atrocious wickedneſs were common; for there was no longer any curb to the paſſions.

936. King Louis d'Outremer made priſoner by Hugh the Great.

After the death of Radolph, Hugh the Great, who poſſeſſed ſeveral rich abbeys, with the county of Paris, and the dutchies of France and Burgundy, again ſlighted the title of king, or dreaded being looked upon as an uſurper. He therefore

therefore recalled Louis d'Outremer, ſon of Charles the Simple, who had taken refuge in England, to which he had been carried by his mother during the troubles. This king was merely nominal, like many others. He was deſirous of governing; but Hugh then became his enemy, put him under confinement, and did not reſtore his liberty till he ceded the county of Laon, which was almoſt the ſole remainder of the royal domain.

Singular and unfortunate events.

Otho I. of Saxony, who ſucceeded his father Henry the Fowler in the throne of Germany, mediated a peace between the ſovereign and the vaſſal. Hugh had been excommunicated by ſeveral councils, and even by the pope. The biſhops of Lorraine had ſent an army to the aſſiſtance of Louis; and another war of ſeveral years continuance was kindled on the ſubject of the archbiſhoprick of Reims, which count Vermendois had procured for his ſon, who was only five years of age, that he might enjoy it himſelf in that infant's name. Hiſtory only preſents us with a chaos of extravagances and depredations.

954. Louis ſucceeded by Lothaire.

Louis d'Outremer, at his death, left a ſhadow of authority to his ſon Lothaire; or rather Hugh the Great was pleaſed to grant him the title, while he reſerved the power to himſelf. This nobleman, who was as formidable as the ancient mayors, died two years after; leaving his ſon Hugh Capet heir to his abbeys, his dignities, and his power. Lothaire wanted neither activity nor courage, and undertook to recover Lorraine, of which the kings of Germany had made

made themſel.es maſters. Let us here anticipate a remark, that the emperour Otho II. had the addreſs to oppoſe a competitor to him, by making a ceſſion of Lower Lorraine to the king's brother Charles, who received it from Otho as a fief. Lothaire, diſcontented with this treaty, invaded Lorraine, ſurpriſed the emperour, and put him to flight: He was afterwards beaten in his turn, but gained the victory in a third battle. At laſt he renounced his pretenſions to the kingdom of Lorraine, which continued to be ſhared between Otho and prince Charles. The fortune of the Othos will now claim our attention, and deſerves to make an Epocha.

He loſes the kingdom of Lorraine.

THIRD EPOCHA.

OTHO *the* GREAT.—*The* EMPIRE *transferred to the* GERMANS.—FRANCE *subjected to the* HOUSE *of* CAPET.

[From the Middle of the Tenth Century till the Time of Gregory VII.]

CHAP. I.

The HOUSE *of* SAXONY *rises to* ROYALTY *and the* EMPIRE.—REIGNS *of the* OTHOS.

A FORMIDABLE power had riſen in Germany, and united the imperial with the royal dignity. This is the proper place for conſidering that new revolution. Conrad, duke of Franconia, as was before related, had been elected king, upon the refuſal and by the advice of the duke of Saxony. This monarch died in 919 without iſſue male, after recommending to the ſtates, for his ſucceſſor, Henry, ſon of the duke Otho, to whom he owed the crown; and the ſtates, compoſed of *the clergy, the principal nobility, and chief officers of the army*, actually elected Henry the Fowler (he had this ſurname from his fondneſs for the diverſion of hawking.) This valiant and prudent prince ſubdued the

Henry the Fowler, duke of Saxony, elected ſovereign by the ſtates.

rebellious vaſſals, diſciplined the troops, built fortreſſes and cities, refuſed to pay tribute to the Hungarians, cut them in pieces, and put his dominions in a ſtate of ſecurity.

He ſtyles himſelf *avowée* of Rome, though the troops had named him emperour.

Though his troops had conferred upon him the title of Emperour, we do not find that he ever aſſumed it. In a publick deed, dated 932, he ſtyles himſelf only *avowée* of Rome; *i. e.* protector of the temporalities of the Romiſh See; a title which ordinarily denoted an officer of the church.

Otho I. the greateſt prince of his age.

Otho I. his ſon, was elected his ſucceſſor by the ſtates in 936. This ſovereign quelled ſeveral rebellions, made Denmark and Bohemia tributary, and became the greateſt prince of his age.

Revolutions and troubles in Italy.

Italy, divided among a number of tyrants who were at variance with each other, torn by factions and continual wars, perpetually expoſed to the inroads of the Saracens, who were maſters of part of it, was one of the moſt unhappy countries in Europe. Raoul or Rodolphus II. king of the two Burgundies, Transjurana and Cisjurana, had dethroned Berengerius, and been himſelf dethroned by Hugh, Marquis of Provence, whoſe ſon Lothaire was treated in the ſame manner by Berengerius II.

The Italians were too fond of changing maſters.

The Italians were never contented with their king, and every change increaſed their calamities. The diviſions were fomented by ſome vicious popes, who ſuffered themſelves to be guided by looſe women. Strangers were called into Italy; the people in a manner courted the yoke, in order to free themſelves from oppreſſors,

preſſors, repented, refuſed obedience, and made kings by chance. Revolutions are ordinarily the fruits of diſcord; accordingly theſe troubles procured the empire to the Germans.

Otho II. leaves Berengerius II. in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Italy.

In 952 Otho paſſed into Italy at the inſtance of Adelaide, widow of king Lothaire, who was kept priſoner in a caſtle by Berengerius II. freed this princeſs, and married her; received the fealty of Berengerius, whom he left in poſſeſſion of his kingdom, and then ſet out to quell a rebellion in Germany. Rome had ſhut her gates, but ſome years after they were opened to him by a pope.

961. Recalled by John XII. againſt Berengerius.

John XII. had been raiſed to the papacy at the age of eighteen. He was the grandſon of the famous Marozie, concubine of Sergius III. and to the corrupt manners of his age added a bold and enterpriſing ſpirit. The tyranny of Berengerius and his ſon Adalbert exciting an univerſal ſpirit of revolt, that pontiff conjured Otho, *for the love of God and the holy Apoſtles, to come and deliver the Roman church from the claws of two monſters who were tearing it in pieces.* The king of Germany complied with his entreaties. Berengerius and his ſon were depoſed, and Otho crowned king of Italy at Milan. The following year he was crowned emperour at Rome by John XII. and confirmed the donations of the French princes, which were of the utmoſt importance to the papacy.

He is crowned king and emperour.

The pope betrays him.

The pope ſoon forgot his engagements, entered into a confederacy with Adalbert againſt the emperour, and even raiſed a body of troops; but finding that he was too weak to reſiſt, betook

betook himſelf to flight. The Romans again ſwore allegiance to Otho, binding themſelves, by the ſame oath, not to elect nor conſecrate any pope without the conſent of the emperour or his ſon. John was proſecuted in a council on a charge of enormous crimes; he was ſummoned twice, but anſwered only by threats of excommunication; however he was at laſt depoſed, and Leo VIII. a private layman of virtuous life, elected in his room. The depoſed pontiff did not loſe courage: He prevailed upon the Romans to revolt, entered the city, and held a council, in which Leo was depoſed in his turn; nor did John's ſudden death put an end to the ſedition. Benedict V. was elected in his room, for the Romans thought no more of their oath.

John is depoſed, and prevails on the Romans to revolt.

Notions entertained of that people.

According to Luitprand, biſhop of Cremona, a cotemporary author, and native of Lombardy, that people was then ſo much contemned, though ſtill haughty, that every treacherous, cowardly, infamous fellow was ſtyled a Roman.

964. Otho I. forces Rome to ſubmit.

Such audacious behaviour to a great prince produced the conſequences ordinarily attendant upon injudicious attempts. Otho, who a little before had made Berengerius priſoner in Montefeltro, beſieged Rome and reduced it to extremity; but the inhabitants ſubmitted, and obtained their pardon. Benedict appeared before a council, confeſſed himſelf a criminal, and ſtripped off his pontifical robes. Leo VIII. with *the whole body of the clergy and people of Rome*, made a celebrated decree, which is looked upon as a fundamental law of the empire, bearing—"*That Otho and his ſucceſſors in the*

Famous decree of Leo VIII.

"*kingdom*

" *kingdom of Italy ſhall perpetually enjoy the* " *power of chooſing for themſelves a ſucceſſor,* " *naming the pope, and granting inveſtiture to* " *the biſhops.*"

Muratori and ſome others have controverted the authenticity of this decree, an extract of which is found in Gratian; but it has been obſerved, that though the form may be falſe, yet the ſubſtance of it may be true, as Luitprand gives the ſame account conformably to the act itſelf.—" *The collection of Golbaſtus,*" ſays Mr. Pfeffel, " *is filled with ſimilar laws* " *and conſtitutions, the ſubſtance of which is* " *inconteſtibly true, and yet they are plain for-* " *geries.*"

If that decree be counterfeit.

Scarce had the emperour quitted Italy, when the Romans mutinied and drove out John XIII. who had been elected in preſence of the imperial commiſſioners after the death of Leo VIII. Otho, juſtly provoked, returned a fourth time, and ſeverely puniſhed the ſeditious. He baniſhed the conſuls, hanged the tribunes, and cauſed the governour of Rome to be whipped through the ſtreets. We ſee that the ancient dignities ſtill ſubſiſted nominally; vain food for the pride of a people equally weak and turbulent.

New revolt of the Romans puniſhed.

Nicephorus, the Greek emperour, had acknowledged Otho's title, and betrothed his daughter to the German emperour's ſon; notwithſtanding which, he cauſed the ambaſſadours to be aſſaſſinated who were to conduct the princeſs. War was then kindled; the Germans attacked La Puglia and Calabria; a Greek army

969. War of Otho againſt the Greeks.

was

was beaten, and the noſes of the priſoners cut off; after which they were ſent back to Conſtantinople. Nicephorus having been murdered by his ſubjects, John Zimiſces, his ſucceſſor, concluded peace with Otho, ceding to him the lordſhip of Capua. Otho died in 973. His ſurname of Great was not the homage of flattery, but a tribute to his merit.

His death.

He was an imitator of Charlemagne.

This prince, who imitated Charlemagne in his enterpriſes, like him too was a lover of letters; and by the perſuaſion of his brother Bruno, archbiſhop of Cologne, he formed the ſcheme of eſtabliſhing a kind of academy. Like Charlemagne, he had very much at heart the converſion of the barbarians, whom he was deſirous of ſubduing, and founded ſeveral biſhopricks in the North, where chriſtianity was ſhooting forth branches. Whether it was owing to the devotion then in vogue, or to bad policy, he made the clergy of Germany too powerful, by beſtowing on them dutchies and counties, with the privileges of the other lords or princes. But to counterbalance this power, he eſtabliſhed *avowées*, who were to be named by the emperour, and ſhare the government with the prelates. But we ſhall ſoon find them rid themſelves of theſe *avowées*. Otho, like Charlemagne, either did not ſee clearly enough into futurity, or was hurried away by circumſtances.

He made the clergy too powerful.

Hereditary fiefs eſtabliſhed.

Hereditary fiefs, another ſource of diſorders, were almoſt univerſally eſtabliſhed in Germany. The emperour cauſed one of the moſt important queſtions that can exerciſe the ſagacity of civil-

ians

ians to be decided by a duel: It was, whether repreſentation ought to proceed in a direct line; if, for example, a grandſon, being the repreſentative of the ſon, ought to ſucceed in preference to his uncles. The claim of the nephews prevailed, becauſe their champion was victorious, and the law ſtill ſubſiſts. In the following reign it was ordained by a diet, that doubtful cauſes ſhould no longer be determined by oath, but by duel. At leaſt, cowards loſt the advantage which they might draw from perjury.

Right of repreſentation decided by a duel.

Otho II. was only eighteen years of age when he ſucceeded his father, who had cauſed him to be elected in 961; a precaution neceſſary for ſecuring the crown in one family. His youth tempted ſome rebellions, which he had ſtrength enough to diſſipate. Rome, by the commiſſion of new crimes, opened a theatre for the diſplay of his juſtice. Creſcentius or Cincius, ſon of the unchaſte Theodora, who is ſaid to have been concubine of John X. having formed the project of reeſtabliſhing the Roman republick, ſtirred up the people, and threw Benedict VI. into priſon, where he periſhed, upon which the factious elected Benedict VII. Another faction elected Boniface VII. and a third John XIV. who was murdered by Boniface. Theſe crimes ſucceeded each other with ſuch rapidity, that hiſtorians differ both in names and dates. He who is ſtyled pope by one is called antipope by others.

973. Otho II.

Troubles of Rome.

Great number of popes and antipopes.

In the laſt epocha I ſpoke of the war with France for the kingdom of Lorraine, which

The emperour dies in Italy.

Otho,

Otho, by a judicious ſtroke of policy, ſhared with king Lothaire's brother. After the concluſion of this war, the emperour paid a viſit to Rome, and quelled the ſeditious. He afterwards attempted to wreſt Calabria from the Greeks; but the Saracens, who were in alliance with them, cut his army in pieces. He died at Rome, where he was making new preparations.

983. Creſcentius renews the revolts at Rome.

His ſon Otho III. who was already elected, ſucceeded him at the age of three years. The grandmother and mother diſputed the authority with each other, and Germany was vexed with a tempeſtuous regency. Factions were ſoon renewed at Rome, where the popes and clergy acted in the ſame ſcandalous manner as before; and Creſcentius kindled a general conflagration by his fanatick zeal for liberty. John XV. called in the emperour, and Otho appeared in Italy in 996. The pope being dead, he ſubſtituted in his place Gregory V. a near relation of his own, by whom he cauſed himſelf to be crowned. Creſcentius did not fail to drive out this pontiff, and ſubſtituted another under the name of John XVI. ſtill perſuading the Romans that they were free.

At laſt puniſhed by Otho III.

But in 998 Otho entered Rome, beſieged the caſtle of St. Angelo, in which the rebel had ſhut himſelf up, carried it by aſſault, or, according to others, entered it by capitulation, and, in ſhort, cut off the head of Creſcentius. The Romans had put out their antipope's eyes. Gregory V. carried his revenge ſo far as to make him ride through the ſtreets on an aſs,

with

with the animal's tail in his hand. We may judge of the manners of the people by thoſe of the heads of the church, who, unhappily hurried away by the torrent of that perverſe age, gave them the ſtrength of contagious example.

We here tread the thorny paths of hiſtory. Objects are confounded, they have no diſtinguiſhing features, and offer us almoſt no intereſting detail; which obliges us only to hint the principal facts till we meet with events, a particular narration of which will be more pleaſing. Theſe firſt ſteps are neceſſary to conduct us into the plains enriched by culture. We ſhall conſtantly find in our way ſome fruits fit to be gathered, and then particulars will become uſeful.

Barrenneſs of hiſtory.

CHAP. II.

HUGH CAPET *dethrones* CHARLEMAGNE'S *Poſterity in* FRANCE.—ROBERT.—HENRY I.

WHILE the Houſe of Saxony was in poſſeſſion of Germany and Italy, which had been diſmembered from the French empire, the Houſe of Charlemagne loſt the crown, which was now little more than an empty title. The death of king Lothaire was ſoon followed by that of his ſon Louis V. and Hugh Capet, as eminent for his merit as his birth and his power, ſeized the opportunity of appropriating to himſelf

987. Hugh Capet deſirous of procuring the crown of France.

ſelf that crown which had been worn by his grandfather Robert, and his grand uncle Eudes. Charles duke of Lorraine, Lothaire's brother, was the heir by blood, but his being vaſſal to the emperour appeared ſufficient reaſon for his excluſion; he was cried down as a mean ſpirited wretch unworthy of his birth, and a traitor to his country.

How he had gained the clergy and the monks.

Hugh had brought over the clergy and the monks to his intereſts, by renouncing the abbeys which he had inherited from his father. An exceſs of real or apparent devotion for the relicks, gained their ſuffrages and the veneration of the people. St. Riquier, whoſe ſhrine he had carried barefooted, was affirmed to have promiſed him the crown; and this report, which was purpoſely ſpread, paved the way for it. At laſt addreſs joined with force gave ſucceſs to his ambition. He cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged in an aſſembly of the nation, to be conſecrated at Reims, and had the precaution to join his ſon Robert with him. Charles entered the kingdom and ſeized Laon, and afterwards Reims, by the treachery of archbiſhop Arnolph, his uncle; but being betrayed by the biſhop of Laon, he fell into the hands of his rival, and died in priſon in 992.

He is inaugurated in prejudice of Charles duke of Lorraine.

Trial of Arnolph of Reims, traitor to the king.

The trial of Arnolph of Reims, ſo ungrateful to his benefactor, to a king whom he had acknowledged, and to whom he had ſworn fealty, now took up the attention of the ſtate. A council was aſſembled to try him. His partizans maintained, that his cauſe ought to be carried before the pope; but the contrary was

Diſputes concerning the pope's juriſdiction.

proved

proved by Arnolph of Orleans, one of the moſt reſpectable biſhops in the kingdom. After giving a lively picture of the ſcandals with which the Holy See was diſgraced, he adds—*If the pope be commendable for his knowledge and virtue, we have nothing to fear from him; ſtill leſs ought we to fear him, if he be miſled by ignorance or paſſion.* At laſt, it was agreed, that the council had power to judge him, and the king came in perſon, in order to preſs the ſentence. The criminal threw himſelf humbly at his feet, diveſted himſelf of the marks of his dignity, and gave in his act of diſmiſſion; upon which, Hugh promiſed to ſpare his life, if he committed no crime worthy of being *puniſhed by the ſword.* The famous Gerbert was put in his room.

Gerbert archbiſhop of Reims.

Gerbert, a man of low birth, who was raiſed by his genius, had been a monk of Aurillack, but being expoſed to the jealous hatred of his brethren in the cloiſter, whom he deſpiſed, retired into Spain, where he had ſtudied the ſciences of the Arabians. Being a mathematician and philoſopher, he was looked upon as a ſorcerer by the common people; but he had made his way into courts, and become preceptor to Otho III. and afterwards to Robert, ſon of Hugh Capet; the king could not reward him more ſuitably, than by beſtowing on him the archbiſhoprick of Reims.

John XV. deſires to depoſe him.

His fortune and merit making him an object of envy, ſome biſhops wrote to John XV. that the depoſition of Arnolph was null, becauſe it was made without the pope's conſent. This reaſon appeared deciſive; and notwithſtanding the

the reſpectful remonſtrances of the king, he did not ſcruple to put all the prelates who aſſiſted at the council under an interdict. Then Gerbert, giving way to his natural warmth of temper, wrote an invective againſt the pope, in a letter addreſſed to the archbiſhop of Sens.—

His letter againſt the pope.

"*Let us not give room to our adverſaries to be-*
"*lieve, that the prieſthood is ſo much under the*
"*dominion of one man, that, ſhould he ſuffer*
"*himſelf to be corrupted, or ſeduced by money,*
"*favour, fear, or ignorance, none could enjoy*
"*the epiſcopal dignity without employing the like*
"*methods to gain his approbation.*" John XV. was the ſtrongeſt, and the court wanted to keep fair with him, becauſe he likewiſe attacked the marriage of king Robert with Bertha. He ſent a legate to give orders, and to hold councils. Arnolph was reeſtabliſhed, and Gerbert depoſed; but the firſt remained in priſon till the death of Hugh Capet; and the ſecond, having found an aſylum with Otho III. his pupil, became archbiſhop of Ravenna, and afterwards pope, by the name of Silveſter II.

Gerbert depoſed.

996. Gregory V. annuls king Robert's marriage.

When Robert had ſucceeded his father, he found himſelf the more expoſed to the enterpriſes of the court of Rome, as he joined to a weak character a ſcrupulous and ignorant devotion. The church had extended the degrees within which marriage was unlawful, to the ſeventh. He was fourth couſin to his wife Bertha, for whom he had a tender affection, and their marriage had been authorized by ſeveral biſhops. Gregory V. undertook to annul it,

it, and in a council held at Rome, without examining the merits of the cauſe, or even hearing the parties, in the moſt arbitrary manner publiſhed a thundering decree, ordering the king and queen to ſeparate under pain of excommunication; and laying under an interdict all the biſhops who were accomplices of their pretended crime, until they ſhould come and give ſatisfaction to the Holy See.

Effects of that good prince's excommunication.

Robert, being reſtrained by conjugal tenderneſs, did not make haſte to comply, but reckoned himſelf excommunicated. According to the account of cardinal Peter Damien, the courtiers avoided all correſpondence with him; only two domeſticks continued their ſervices; and their ſuperſtition went ſo far, as to purify by fire the plate which he made uſe of at table. This credulous author adds, that the queen was brought to bed of a monſter with the neck and head of a gooſe; an evident puniſhment of her inceſt: And Robert, converted by this prodigy, or rather dreading a revolt, and yielding to the terrours of ſuperſtition, divorced Bertha, and married Conſtance, daughter of the count of Arles; and thus gave himſelf a tyrant, inſtead of the amiable ſpouſe whom he was obliged to diſmiſs. Gregory likewiſe obliged him to reſtore Arnolph to the See of Reims. What do not theſe ſtrange ſcenes prognoſticate! We ſhall ſoon ſee the thunders of the Vatican ſpread a conflagration through Europe, ſhake all the thrones, and break the ſtrongeſt bonds of ſociety.

He ſubmits.

Yet

He refuſes the crown of Italy.

Yet Robert might have become ſovereign of the popes, had he been endowed with ambition and vigour. After the death of Henry II. ſucceſſor of Otho III. laſt emperour of the Houſe of Saxony, the Italians, diſguſted with the German dominion, offered him their crown and empire; but he had the prudence to refuſe them. The Houſe of Franconia ſucceeded that of Saxony, in the perſon of Conrad II. whoſe reign begun in 1024.

Factions in that country.

Under that of Henry II. Ardoin marquis of Ivrée had borne the title of king of Italy, and ſupported the war againſt the German monarch. Pavia declared for the one, Milan for the other, and an implacable hatred broke out between theſe two cities. All Europe was filled with factions; but they raged no where with ſuch violence as in Italy. It may be believed, that the tempeſtuous ſtate of Rome, divided between the emperours, the popes, and the love of liberty, ſet all the reſt in motion, or gave additional activity to the national turbulence.

Robert tyrannized by his wife.

To return to Robert, his ſecond marriage was a ſource of mortifications and unhappineſs. Queen Conſtance domineered with unſupportable haughtineſs: She wanted to regulate the ſucceſſion, and not loving prince Henry, the eldeſt of his ſons, ſet every ſpring in motion to prevail on the king to take the younger, Robert, for his colleague. Being provoked at his refuſal, ſhe perſecuted the two brothers, who were united in the ſtricteſt friendſhip, and made them take up arms againſt their father, whoſe will

will was almoſt always regulated by hers. Happily they ſoon returned to their duty.

Hereticks of Orleans.

Nothing is more proper to give an idea of that princeſs, and of the manners of the age in general, than the affair of the hereticks of Orleans. An Italian woman had privately broached ſome new opinions, and ſeduced a number of people, among whom were ſome eccleſiaſticks of reputation. Their hereſy attacked the doctrines and ceremonies of the church. They were ſeized, examined in a council, where they diſputed with the biſhops, and were condemned to the flames. Conſtance was at the gate of a church, while theſe unhappy creatures were paſſing to the pile, and with a ſwitch ſtruck out the eye of one of the principal, who had been her confeſſor. She applauded herſelf for this deed, probably looking upon it as an act of zeal and virtue.

Inſtance of that queen's cruelty.

1031. Reign of Henry I.

Henry I. whom Robert cauſed to be inaugurated during his own life, ſucceeded him in 1031. Conſtance armed her other ſon againſt that brother, whoſe friend he had till then ſhewn himſelf. The king, who was at firſt a fugitive in Normandy, ſoon after quelled the ſedition, and gave the dutchy of Burgundy to the rebel. The moſt remarkable circumſtance in this reign is, that he married for his ſecond wife the daughter of Jarodiſlas, czar, or prince of Ruſſia. The obſtacles to marriage were ſo greatly multiplied, and the example of his father ſo terrifying, that he doubtleſs thought it expedient to ſend for a wife to that unknown country, that he might not expoſe himſelf to

Marriage very difficult on account of the prohibitions.

the riſk of excommunication. Such was the univerſal confuſion in civil order, that even a king did not know how he ſhould enter into wedlock !

Peace of God ordained by the biſhops.

Beſides this, the diſorders produced by anarchy baffle deſcription. The *peace* and *truce of God*, which were contrived as a remedy, will give ſome idea of the evil. In 1033, the biſhops publiſhed a decree, which they pretended was dictated by divine inſpiration, prohibiting all laymen from bearing arms from that time forth, exacting the reſtitution of an uſurped poſſeſſion, or revenging the death of their relations; obliging them to pardon murderers, to take no nouriſhment but bread and water on Fridays, and to eat no fleſh on Saturdays. Whoever refuſed to ſwear to the obſervation of theſe regulations, was to be excommunicated and deprived of burial.

Oppoſed by only one prudent biſhop.

A ſingle biſhop had the boldneſs to cenſure this ordinance. He repreſented, that the ordering of peace or war was the peculiar province of kings; that the requiſition of ſuch an oath would only multiply perjuries; that prudence did not permit the impoſition of obligations unſupportable to the generality: But he was looked upon as the enemy of peace, till he had followed the example of the others.

This peace deſtroys itſelf.

However, experience ſoon demonſtrated the foundneſs of his advice. After a ſhort fit of devotion, private wars and violence again broke out, and the moſt ſcrupulous neceſſarily became their victims. Every petty lord was then the tyrant of his own lands, and the enemy of his

his neighbours. Every great lord was a more formidable tyrant. Law and juſtice were annihilated, and every thing was decided by arms.

The biſhops perceiving the inutility of their cenſures, about the year 1040, changed the peace of God into a truce. It was enacted, that from Wedneſday evening to Monday morning, no act of violence ſhould be committed, under pain of fine and excommunication. This was ſtill too much, and the time was ſhortened to the interval from Saturday evening till Monday morning; ſo that all the reſt of the week, murder and robbery might ſeem to be authorized. A government of ſavages ſhews nothing ſo horrid! This is the picture of the ſituation of the French under the reign of Henry I. which did not end till 1060. Let us take a curſory view of the other nations, of which it will be ſufficient at preſent to have a general notion. We ſhall every where ſee the ſame calamities ſpringing from the ſame cauſes.

It is changed into a truce equally uſeleſs.

CHAP. III.

ENGLAND, SPAIN, *the Empire of the* ARABIANS, *and of* CONSTANTINOPLE, *during the two laſt Epochas after* CHARLEMAGNE.

ENGLAND.

From the time of Alfred every thing declines in England.

FROM the time of the great Alfred, England was every day loſing the fruits of his admirable inſtitutions, which were prevented from taking root in the kingdom by domeſtick troubles, wars, and barbariſm. His ſon Edward the Elder was inceſſantly armed againſt the Danes. Three ſons of Edward, Athelſtan, Edmund I. and Edred, reigned in ſucceſſion with very little tranquility. Under the laſt,

The Benedictines became too powerful there.

the monks of the order of St. Benedict were eſtabliſhed as reformers, attacked the clergy and the other monks, whoſe irregularities were publick; governed the king; occaſioned a revolt againſt Edwy his ſucceſſor, who did not obſerve the ſame conduct; became more powerful under Edgar, whoſe virtues they have extolled, though they were ſtained with many ſpots; and in a manner reigned, under the name of Edward

Owed their credit to the abbot Dunſtan.

the Martyr. The celebrated abbot Dunſtan, biſhop of Worceſter and London, as well as archbiſhop of Canterbury, poſſeſſing theſe three Sees at once, with the reputation of a ſaint, was the ſoul of all the meaſures taken in favour of

of the monks, to which he united the glory and ſervice of God. The amazing aſcendency he procured them, ſerved to increaſe the power aſſumed by the Romiſh court.

This was not the method to repulſe the Danes, who renewed their irruptions in 991. Ethelred, a prince, who had neither genius nor courage, inflamed their avidity by purchaſing their retreat. Sweno king of Denmark, and Olave king of Norway, fell upon England, gained a battle, and for ſixteen thouſand pounds weight of ſilver ſold a diſgraceful peace, which was a prelude to new hoſtilities. The Engliſh, like the generality of the other Germans, had degenerated from their ancient valour, and that love of liberty which defied death. They ſubmitted to Sweno in 1013. Canute the Great, his ſon, who mounted the throne in 1017, ſtrengthened his power, conquered Norway, and was maſter of three kingdoms. He ended his reign in the exerciſes of devotion, went a pilgrimage to Rome, and built ſeveral churches in England. His two ſons Harold and Canute II. did not ſupport his reputation. Their reign was ſhort. After the death of the latter in 1041, the Engliſh ſhook off the foreign yoke, and called in Edward the Confeſſor, a prince of the ancient royal houſe, who had taken refuge in Normandy. This monarch governed weakly. Having rendered his bed barren by a raſh vow of chaſtity, he left England a prey to the ambition of William duke of Normandy, as will be ſeen in the following Epocha.

Invaſion of the Danes under Ethelred.

They ſubdue the kingdom.

Canute the Great reigns after Sweno.

Edward the Confeſſor ſucceeds the Danes.

SPAIN.

SPAIN.

The Chriſtians draw upon themſelves a perſecution in the kingdom of Cordova.

SPAIN, more diſturbed than England, preſents only a confuſed ſcene of great diſorders, petty wars, and petty revolutions. The Chriſtians drew upon themſelves a perſecution in the kingdom of Cordova, by affronting Mahometiſm in their diſcourſe; which was prohibited by the laws under pain of death. A biſhop, who was a man of ſenſe, in vain declared, that they who came unneceſſarily to curſe Mahomet were not to be looked upon as martyrs; in vain did a council, which Mariana treats as ſpurious, prohibit this exceſs of zeal; numerous inſtances of it ſtill happened, and they were celebrated as heroick actions.

They augmented the kingdom of the Aſturias, and founded that of Navarre.

The feeble kingdom of the Aſturias, founded by Pelagius, the only ſlip remaining of the ſtock of the Gothick kings, was increaſed by the valour and wiſdom of Alphonſo III. ſurnamed the Great. Garcias Ximenes, of French extraction, at the ſame time founded the kingdom of Navarre, which afterwards became the moſt conſiderable of the Chriſtian ſtates in that country.

The Moors poſſeſſed more than three quarters of Spain.

However, the Moors or Arabians were ſtill maſters of Portugal, Murcia, Andaluſia, Valencia, Grenada, Tortoſa, and the inland provinces, to the other ſide of the mountains of Saragoſſa and Caſtile; that is, of more than three fourths of Spain, and the moſt fertile parts of the country.

Diviſions among the Chriſtians themſelves

A number of their nobility had grown to too great a height of power, and affected independence,

ence, so that the sovereign was obliged to be in a continual struggle with the subjects: But the Christians were scarcely in better union. Though always at war with the Moors, they were a prey to mutual discords. The reign of Alphonso the Great was filled with conspiracies and revolts. His own wife and his two sons rebelled against him; in favour of the eldest of whom, Garcias, he abdicated the crown, and even generously fought under his command. This monarch died in 912, with the renown of a hero. We have of his writing a chronicle, which goes as far back as the reign of Wamba.

under Alphonso the Great.

Another Spanish hero, Ramirez II. king of Leon and the Asturias, in 938, gained the celebrated victory of Semencas over the Moors, of whom fourscore thousand are reported to have been slain. In a pilgrimage to Compostella, he had vowed to St. James, that if he was victorious, each of his subjects should annually pay to that church a certain quantity of corn. The church was enriched, and the name of St. James became the Spanish cry of war. We find in all countries instances similar to this, and in all countries they have inspired a confidence, which has on some occasions produced great success.

Moors defeated at Semencas by Ramirez II.

His vow to St. James.

Meantime, the brave Almanzor, viceroy of Cordova, a celebrated enemy of the Christians, routed them with great slaughter in 995, took Leon by assault in the following year, afterwards sacked Compostella, and pillaged the treasury of St. James, the gates of which he caused to be carried to Cordova on the shoulders of

Almanzor victorious over the Christians, afterwards defeated.

of the vanquiſhed. An epidemick diſtemper having forced him to retire, the Chriſtians not doubting that heaven was revenging their cauſe, at laſt joined their forces and defeated Almanzor in 998. That general, who is ſaid to have vanquiſhed them in more than fifty battles, and joined political virtues to military heroiſm, who governed the Jews and Chriſtians with the ſame equity as the Muſſulmen, could not ſurvive his defeat, and ſuffered himſelf to die of hunger.

Death of that great man.

A few years after, two Mooriſh lords diſputed the throne of Hiſſem II. laſt king of the blood of Abderaman. The counts of Barcelona and Urgello, with three biſhops, took arms in favour of one of the competitors, and the three biſhops were killed in battle. What could be the motive that induced theſe Chriſtians to unite with infidels, notwithſtanding the hatred of their religion? It was doubtleſs a deſire of profiting by their civil wars; perhaps, too, it might be cauſed by their taſte for chivalry and paſſion for adventures, which the example of the Saracens had brought into faſhion.

Three biſhops killed fighting for the Moors.

In the beginning of the eleventh century, the kingdom of Cordova was diſmembered by the ambition of a number of noblemen, who taking advantage of the troubles, uſurped the title of kings. Toledo, Valencia, Saragoſſa, Seville, Orihuela, almoſt all the great towns, had independent kings. The provinces were changed into kingdoms, which multiplied in like manner among the Chriſtians. Sancho, king of Navarre, ſurnamed the Great, becauſe he made ſome conqueſts from the Moors, had the imprudence to divide his dominions among his four ſons.

The kingdom of Cordova ſubdivided.

Same ſubdiviſion of kingdoms among the Chriſtians.

ſons. There were kings of Leon, of Navarre, of Caſtile, and of Arragon. Theſe ſovereigns, who ſprung from the ſame ſtock, became enemies; the fruit naturally to be expected from partition. In a word, the ancient hiſtory of Spain becomes leſs intereſting, and more obſcure, as the country was ſubdivided among a greater number of ſovereigns, whoſe intereſts were interwoven with each other. We ſcarce find any thing in it but a confuſed maſs of crimes, which in other countries were produced by diſcord, and attended with more important conſequences.

What makes the ancient hiſtory of Spain tireſome.

One thing highly worthy of attention is, that while the people were every where reduced to ſlavery, and groaned under oppreſſion, the nobility of Arragon procured for them important privileges in that country, in order to form a powerful party againſt the ſovereign. The *Ricos hombres*, elected by the people, were a tribunal very formidable to the crown. The grand juſticiary was at their head, who adminiſtered the oath to the king, and preſenting a drawn ſword to his heart, pronounced the following words—*We who are your equals, conſtitute you our lord and king, on condition that you maintain our privileges and liberties; if otherwiſe, not.* In caſe the privileges were violated, the juſticiary had a right to ſummon him before the ſtates general, and cauſe him to be depoſed. He was the interpreter and arbiter of the laws, and ſupreme judge. Afterwards, in 1461, a tribunal was erected by the nomination of the ſtates, in caſes of neceſſity, to judge the grand juſticiary.

The Ricos hombres of Arragon.

Authority of the grand juſticiary over the king.

juſticiary. Ephori became requiſite. This office did not begin to loſe its authority till the reign of Philip II. at preſent it is merely titular.

THE EMPIRE OF THE ARABIANS.

Diſcords fatal to the empire of the Arabians.

THE great empire of the Arabians likewiſe felt the revolutions produced by war and diſcord, which ſooner or later overturn the beſt eſtabliſhed thrones. After Watik, who reigned about the middle of the ninth century, the glory of the califate began to decline. Under a ſucceſſion of weak or wicked ſovereigns, the governours ſhook off the yoke of authority. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, formed ſeparate ſtates. The diſorders were increaſed by religious quarrels, which put arms into the hands of the ambitious.

Sect of the Fatimites.

The ſect of the Fatimites again ſprung up with all the fury of fanaticiſm, and founded a new empire in Egypt.

Califs of Cairo.

Cairo, its capital, became at the ſame time the ſeat of a calif, and a place of flouriſhing trade.

A third calif in Africa.

Another ſet of fanaticks, who thought that the relaxation introduced into the Mahometan religion ſtood in need of a reformation, giving themſelves up to the tranſports of enthuſiaſm, drew on a perſecution and anathemas which helped to ſtrengthen their party. They revolted, gained ſome victories, and took poſſeſſion of the weſtern coaſt of Africa. At laſt, their chief uniting the ſacerdotal with the royal dignity, under the title of Miramolin, governed this new empire, which was ſeparated from an immenſe body.

The

The califs of Bagdad had taken into their pay the Turks, or Turcomans, deſcended from the Huns, a Tartar nation, who breathed only war and conqueſt. Theſe auxiliaries ſeized the opportunity of ſubduing the people whom they had come to defend. They made themſelves maſters of the provinces of Aſia, deprived the califs of the royal authority, while they reverenced their pontifical dignity, for they prudently conformed to the religion of the country. Several ſtates were formed under monarchs who bore the title of ſultans, and received the inveſtiture from the califs, but took care to prevent them from aſſuming too much authority. The ſovereign pontiff, about the middle of the eleventh century, was already in the ſame condition with the European kings; his power diminiſhed in proportion as the number of his vaſſals increaſed.

The Turks called in by the califs of Bagdad, ſoon ſtripped them of their dominions.

EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE Conſtantinopolitan empire now verging to its ruin, ſtill preſents us with a ſpectacle of weakneſs, folly, ſuperſtition, crimes, and inſurrections. Nicephorus, who, as we mentioned before, dethroned Irene, was an execrable tyrant. The Saracens wreſted from him the iſle of Cyprus; and the Bulgarians, who were the ſcourge of Thrace, ſlew him in a battle in 811, after having deſtroyed his army.

Deteſtable and contemptible conduct of the Conſtantinopolitan emperours. Nicephorus.

His ſon Stauracius made himſelf ſo contemptible from the moment of his acceſſion, that he was obliged,

Stauracius.

obliged, in consequence of a general revolt, to embrace a monastick life.

Michael Rangabæus.

Michael Rangabæus refused to enter into a treaty with the Bulgarians, because a monk had determined, that he could not with a safe conscience restore the deserters. The Bulgarians entirely defeated the Greeks; the emperour escaped by flight; and the officers, filled with indignation, proclaimed Leo the Armenian.

Leo the Armenian an Iconoclast.

This emperour endeavoured to procure the king of the Bulgarians to be assassinated, who, in return, pillaged the suburbs of Constantinople. The emperour could contrive no better method for saving the state, than the destruction of idolatry, that is, of images. He ordered a new persecution, and was murdered in a church in the year 820.

Michael the Stammerer.

His successor, Michael the Stammerer, at first tolerated the worship of images, but he changed his system and turned persecutor; he even wanted to introduce the observation of the Jewish sabbath, and the celebration of the passover, after their manner. The Saracens, taking advantage of his imbecility, made themselves masters of the isle of Crete (now Candia) with almost all Sicily, and invaded La Puglia and Calabria.

Theodora resembles Irene.

Under Theophilus, though a prince more worthy of the throne, the persecution raged with double fury, and the Saracens extended their conquests. After his death, the empress Theodora, who was regent during the minority of Michael III. restored the worship of images, as had been done by Irene. Being afterwards

desirous

deſirous of converting the Manicheans by force, ſhe cauſed thouſands of them to be maſſacred, and thoſe who eſcaped death fled to increaſe the armies of the Saracens; thus, from ſubjects being converted into enemies of the empire. Michael confined Theodora in a convent, and gave himſelf up to every ſpecies of wickedneſs; he even carried his impiety ſo far as to burleſque the ceremonies of the church: At laſt, he was murdered in 867, by Baſilius, whom he had taken for his colleague, and imprudently attempted to depoſe. Michael III.

Baſilius, formerly a mendicant, found himſelf ſeated on the imperial throne. He is extolled for his virtue and juſtice; but he ſuffered himſelf to be duped by the celebrated patriarch Photius, in whom he repoſed entire confidence, after having baniſhed him; and, employing his fleet in building a church, ſuffered the Saracens to take Syracuſe. Baſilius.

His ſon Leo compoſed ſermons, while the enemy were ravaging his dominions and making conqueſts: However, he was ſurnamed the philoſopher, becauſe he loved ſtudy, and favoured learned men. Leo the philoſopher.

Conſtantine Porphyrogenetes, ſon of Leo, whoſe reign began in 912, and ended in 959, deſerves encomiums for his protection of the ſciences, which he cultivated. Men of the firſt rank were profeſſors of philoſophy, geometry, and rhetorick; but the affairs of the empire ſucceeded no better on that account. Conſtantine Porphyrogenetes.

They

Poiſoned by his ſon Romanus.

They were in a worſe ſituation under Romanus, ſon of Conſtantine, who poiſoned his father, and was a tyrant to his ſubjects.

Nicephorus Phocas.

Nicephorus Phocas had the glory of vanquiſhing the Saracens, from whom he took Antioch and ſome other places. Yet his avarice and tyranny made him deteſted; his wife headed a conſpiracy againſt him, and he was ſtabbed in his bed.

John Zimiſces.

John Zimiſces, one of the aſſaſſins, ſeized the empire. This monarch defeated the Ruſſians, by whom it had been invaded, at Adrianople and Bulgaria. The eunuch Baſilius, his great chamberlain, who had accumulated a large fortune by extortion, dreading leſt he ſhould be puniſhed and ſtripped of his riches, poiſoned this valiant prince in 976, and preſerved his credit under Baſilius II. grandſon of Conſtantine Porphyrogenetes.

Baſilius II.

Baſilius was only a formidable warrior. After a victory over the Bulgarians, he cauſed the eyes of near fifteen thouſand priſoners to be put out. His ſubjects, overwhelmed with taxes, could not rejoice at his victories; he fought for himſelf, not for them.

Crimes of the empreſs Zoé.

His death was followed by a complication of crimes ſo black, that ſcarce any example of them can be found elſewhere. The princeſs Zoé, daughter of Conſtantine, the brother and colleague of Baſilius, had married Romanus Argyrus, who was proclaimed emperour in 1028. Zoé conceiving a paſſion for Michael Paphlagonianus, a man of low rank, poiſoned her huſband,

She murders Romanus to marry Michael.

in

in order to beſtow the crown on her lover; and the poiſon not working ſpeedily enough, ſhe cauſed him to be drowned in a bath. The patriarch of Conſtantinople at firſt ſtarted ſome objections againſt the marriage of the empreſs with Michael; but fifty thouſand pounds of gold eaſed his ſcruples.

In 1041, the emperour Paphlagonianus died in a monaſtick habit, weighed down with diſeaſes, and a prey to remorſe. Zoé gave the empire and her hand to Michael Calaphates, ſon of a ſhip caulker and of a ſiſter of the other Michael, in hopes that he would only be the miniſter of her will. This new emperour, jealous of his authority, baniſhed her to an iſland; but the people revolted; the empreſs was brought back with her ſiſter Theodora, and the eyes of Calaphates were put out. The two ſiſters reigned jointly a year, and employed themſelves only in trifles. At laſt, the people being deſirous of a prince, Zoé married Conſtantine Monomachus, one of her old gallants, and cauſed the crown to be ſet upon his head.

She marries Calaphates, who baniſhes her.

His eyes put out.

Zoé marries Monomachus, her old gallant.

This new emperour neglecting his wife for a young miſtreſs, the Greeks, provoked to the higheſt rage, ſtopped him in a proceſſion, and declared, that they would obey none but the two empreſſes; he would have been torn in pieces, had not the two princeſſes calmed the mutineers. Monomachus increaſed the weakneſs of the empire by his rapacity. The frontier provinces were charged with their own defence againſt the Barbarians, and for that reaſon exempt from impoſts; but he obliged them to pay

Sedition againſt that prince.

pay like the reſt, and took the care of their defence upon himſelf. But notwithſtanding theſe provinces were taxed, they were very ill defended.

The ſpirit of ſuperſtition always prevails in the empire. Iſaac Comnenus turns monk.

This is ſufficient to ſhew the ſtate of Conſtantinople: If we ſometimes meet there with an able and courageous prince, we always find the ſame ruling ſpirit. Iſaac Comnenus, one of the beſt emperours, proclaimed in 1057, incurred the hatred of the monks, by applying the ſuperfluity of their riches to the exigencies of the publick. The monks exclaimed, impiety, ſacrilege! The emperour being ill, owing to a fall from his horſe, gave himſelf up to devotion, and abdicated in favour of Conſtantine Ducas, in order to put on the monaſtick habit in 1059.

Faults committed by Conſtantine Ducas.

Ducas, from a too great deſire of peace, abandoned the provinces to the ravages of the Turks. He made his three ſons emperours, and left the government to their mother Eudoſia, on condition that ſhe ſhould promiſe never to marry, which ſhe was obliged to do in writing. However, ſhe ſoon took a reſolution to marry Romanus Diogenes, whom ſhe had a little before condemned to death, but whoſe good mien had made an impreſſion on her heart. Being embarraſſed by the promiſe which was depoſited in the hands of the patriarch, in order to recover it, ſhe pretended to fix her choice on one of his relations; upon which the patriarch approved of her deſign to marry again, and without loſs of time returned the writing, when Eudoſia immediately eſpouſed Romanus, and procured him the empire. Were the Greeks of

His widow deceives the patriarch in order to marry again.

that

that age in any reſpect ſuperiour to the barbarians? Or what uſeful information could we gain by dwelling upon particulars which afford no variety?

CHAP. IV.

SCHISM *of the* GREEKS.

The patriarch Ignatius ſupplanted by Photius in 858.

THE ſchiſm of the Greeks, which was completed about this time, is an object of curioſity that deſerves a place in hiſtory, independently of its connexion with religion. In order to follow its progreſs, it will be neceſſary to go back to its origin. Ignatius, patriarch of Conſtantinople, having been depoſed in 858 by the intrigues of the court, was ſucceeded by Photius, a ſimple layman, of illuſtrious birth, ſuperiour genius, and the moſt learned man in Europe; but of a dangerous character, intriguing, crafty, and hypocritical, ſometimes artfully pliant, at others haughtily overbearing. In ſix days he roſe to the dignity of patriarch. The firſt, he was made a monk, which among the Greeks was a neceſſary requiſite for promotion in the church; on the ſecond, reader; on the third, ſubdeacon; on the fourth, deacon; after that, prieſt, biſhop, and at laſt patriarch.

A council whoſe deciſion was annulled by Nicholas I.

As the old and new patriarchs had each their favourers, whoſe quarrels diſturbed the publick

peace, Michael III. addreſſed himſelf to pope Nicholas I. who was overjoyed at being conſtituted judge of the Greek church, as he was of thoſe of the Weſt. At a council held in 861, compoſed of more than three hundred biſhops, in which two legates preſided who had ſuffered themſelves to be bribed, the depoſition of Ignatius and the election of Photius were confirmed. But in a council at Rome, Nicholas, after annuling the ſentence paſſed at Conſtantinople, excommunicated Photius *by the authority of God, the apoſtles, all the ſaints, the ſix general councils, and the judgment which the Holy Ghoſt pronounced by the mouth of the pope.*

Excommunication of Photius.

Revenge of the patriarch.

He aſſumes the title ecumenical.

His reproaches againſt the Roman church.

Photius, exaſperated at this rough treatment, held a council in his turn, excommunicated and depoſed the pope, and aſſumed the title of ecumenical or univerſal patriarch; a title which at Rome could not be tolerated. According to the ſyſtem which had been contrived long before, he pretended that the primacy had been transferred to Conſtantinople when it was made the ſeat of the empire. He formed the project of rendering the Greek church independent of the Roman, and to decry the latter by accuſations capable of ſtriking the people: With this view, he objected to it the permiſſion to eat cheeſe and milk in the time of Lent, and charged it with manicheiſm for impoſing celibacy on the prieſts; but his principal complaint was the addition of the expreſſion *filioque* to the creed, which, according to him, was a monſtrous impiety, and deſtructive of chriſtianity. In the ſame manner he condemned faſting on Saturday,

day, and the cuſtom of clergymen ſhaving their beards. A great genius would doubtleſs have found leſs frivolous objects of cenſure, had he not wanted to accommodate himſelf to the ſhallow apprehenſions of the vulgar.

Baſilius expels Photius, and reſtores Ignatius.

Baſilius, the murderer and ſucceſſor of Michael III. ſuſpended the quarrel by reſtoring Ignatius and expelling Photius, who had boldly reproached him with his parricide. A council of Conſtantinople (the eighth general council) at which were preſent three legates from Adrian II. launched againſt him the eccleſiaſtical thunders. Peace ſeemed reſtored between the two rival churches; but it could not laſt, becauſe the rivalſhip could not be deſtroyed. Self intereſt occaſioned another rupture.

Diſpute between the two churches with regard to Bulgaria.

The king of the Bulgarians, whoſe wife was a chriſtian, had embraced chriſtianity; and his example, according to cuſtom, had drawn after it a great number of the people. Whether Bulgaria was to be ſubject to the juriſdiction ot the pope, or that of the patriarch of Conſtantinople, formed the ſubject of a famous diſpute. The council of Conſtantinople decided in favour of the patriarch; but Adrian's legates proteſted againſt the deciſion, and his ſucceſſor John VIII. threatened Ignatius with excommunication and depoſition, if he did not immediately recal the prieſts and biſhops who were employed in Bulgaria. Yet that kingdom had been diſmembered from the Greek empire. Rome was ſtill ambitious of univerſal dominion.

John VIII. threatens Ignatius with excommunication.

The pope cauſes Photius to be

Ignatius dying, and Photius having recovered his credit at court, the pope having need

restored after the death of Ignatius.

of Baſilius (for the Saracens had impoſed on him a tribute of twenty five thouſand marks of ſilver) every thing ſoon changed its appearance. John VIII. reſolved to acknowledge Photius, and ſent legates for that purpoſe. In 879, a council of near four hundred biſhops aſſembled at Conſtantinople, ſolemnly reſtored the patriarch, and annuled the deciſions of the other councils, by which he had been condemned. The pope even wrote a letter, in which he ſpoke of thoſe who had added the clauſe *filioque* to the creed as tranſgreſſors.

But afterwards excommunicates him on account of Bulgaria.

He made no queſtion that Photius would renounce Bulgaria, but being informed of the contrary, had recourſe to thoſe arms which he was inceſſantly employing, and fulminated excommunications. His ſucceſſors refuſed to acknowledge the patriarch who was baniſhed by Leo the philoſopher, and at his death left the ſeeds of an everlaſting ſchiſm, where we cannot too much lament the influence of party ſpirit in religious matters.

Death of Photius.

The diſputes renewed by Michael Cerularius in the eleventh century.

The fatal rupture did not take place till the middle of the eleventh century. The patriarch Michael Cerularius, leſs able and equally ambitious with Photius, undertook to ſhake off the yoke of the popes: He publiſhed an invective againſt the Latin church, fixing on minutiæ, and turning every thing into a crime. To feed upon animals ſtrangled or unclean, to eat fleſh on Tueſday, eggs and cheeſe on Friday, to faſt on Saturday, to uſe unleavened bread in the ſervice of the maſs, not ſinging Alleluia in Lent, according to him were abominations. In an

Frivolous obſervances objected as crimes to the Latins.

anſwer

anſwer compoſed at Rome, it is ſaid, that the Latins impoſed a ſevere penance on whoever ate of blood or things ſtrangled, except in caſes where they ran the riſk of dying of hunger. But Cerularius was much more animated by paſſion than prejudice, and ſought only pretences to varniſh his undertaking.

Reproaches of Leo IX. againſt the Greeks.

The hatred of the patriarch was ſtill more provoked by a very angry letter of Leo IX. who reproached the Greeks with maintaining more than fourſcore and ten hereſies condemned by the Roman church, and proved the temporal power of the popes by the chimerical donation of Conſtantine. His reaſons were ſcarce better than thoſe of Cerularius. Some legates being ſent from Rome to Conſtantinople, the patriarch refuſed to ſee them; upon which they laid on the altar of Sancta Sophia, in 1054, a ſentence of excommunication, bearing, *that Michael and his followers be anathematized with the Simoniacks, the hereticks, and the devil and his angels, if they be not converted.* In this act the Greeks are accuſed of caſtrating their gueſts, and afterwards making them biſhops; of ſaying that the law of Moſes is curſed; of obſerving the Jewiſh purifications; of expunging from the creed the proceſſion from the Holy Ghoſt; of permitting the prieſts to marry, and obliging them to wear long beards and hair; in a word, of reviving all the ancient hereſies.

1054. Remarkable ſentence of excommunication pronounced againſt them.

Cerularius on his ſide anſwered the legates by an invective.—*Impious men, iſſuing from the darkneſs of the Weſt, have come into this pious city,*

Cerularius on his ſide inſults the Latins.

city, whence the orthodox faith hath ſpread through the whole world, and endeavoured to corrupt the true belief by the diverſity of their doctrine. This beginning is of itſelf ſufficient to ſhew how the ſpirits are warmed in a diſpute, when men tranſgreſs the bounds of moderation.

The ſchiſm made perpetual.

The Greeks entertained a ſovereign contempt for the Romans, whom they looked upon as ignorant barbarians; were filled with indignation at the popes aſpiring to univerſal dominion, and returned anathemas for anathemas. The emperours of Conſtantinople, ſtanding in need of ſuccours from the Weſt, ſometimes ſtrove to reunite the two churches; but religious quarrels are never reconciled by political intereſts. The ſchiſm was perpetuated, though there were ſome intervals of ſeeming peace. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of it again.

CHAP. V.

General Observations *on the two laſt* Epochas.

Utility of the following obſervations.

TO know the value and neceſſity of the information which reaſon ought to acquire by ſtudy, it is of importance to reflect on the miſconduct of our anceſtors. To perceive the advantages of a good government, where authority is inveſted with proper ſtrength, and ſubmiſſion is founded upon the publick weal, it is expedient to turn our thoughts on the diſ-

orders

orders of an abſurd and odious adminiſtration. Theſe are the two objects which I have in view in making the following obſervations.

Ignorance and anarchy produce boundleſs miſchief.

After the time of Charlemagne, what diſorders every where took root! What miſeries overwhelmed the human race! Ignorance and anarchy concurred to carry to the utmoſt pitch the unhappineſs of the human race. The one obliterated the principles, the other cancelled the rights. The firſt not only degrades men to a level with the brutes, but enſlaves them to an infinite number of errours and pernicious prejudices from which the brutes are exempt: The ſecond converts ſociety into a monſtrous aſſemblage of robbers inveterately bent on mutual deſtruction, of ſavage tyrants, and ſtupid or frantick ſlaves. Such are the characteriſticks of the laſt ages, and they require ſome new obſervations.

I.

The monks and clerks uſurp authority by help of the ignorance which prevailed among the laymen.

Ignorance was grown to ſuch a height among the nations of the Weſt, if we except the Moors of Spain, that very few perſons could read, ſtill fewer write. The clerks and monks being alone acquainted with this valuable ſecret, neceſſarily became the arbiters and judges of all affairs. They brought under their cognizance marriages, contracts, and wills, which they took care to conſider under ſome myſtical view. Thus did they open new ſources of authority and riches, in order to make themſelves amends for the poſſeſſions wreſted from them by the nobility.

nobility. Every thing was dreſſed in the colours of religion; civil affairs were confounded with ſpiritual; and from this unnatural mixture roſe an infinite number of abuſes.

They extend it particularly over marriage.

We need not quote any other proof of this than marriage itſelf, which is unqueſtionably the moſt eſſential of all ſocial contracts, and conſequently ought to be one of the principal cares of the civil legiſlature. The chriſtian emperours had, on this head, followed the example of the ancient lawgivers, and no objection had been made to their proceeding. But the clergy, who had almoſt got the ſovereign power into their hands, ſaw nothing in marriage but a ſacrament. They formed new obſtacles of conſanguinity, affinity, and not only temporal but ſpiritual affinity, which they carried to ſuch a length, that people ſcarcely knew where to find a lawful wife; for there were none within the ſeventh degree. The popes aſſumed a ſpecial right of determining on this important ſubject, on which ſo many others are dependent; but how did they uſe it?—The pious king Robert of France was obliged to ſeparate from his wife, becauſe ſhe was his fourth couſin, though their chaſte and tender union had been authorized by ſome French prelates; and Henry, ſon of Robert, could find no other method to avoid the like violence, than to bring a wife from Muſcovy.

But barbarous and ignorant themſelves, they neceſſarily abuſed their power.

As religion was the only tie that could in any degree reſtrain the unbridled licentiouſneſs of the barbarians, the power of its miniſters would have been attended with the beſt effects.

had

had they in general known how to uſe it with prudence. But while they were barbarous and ignorant themſelves, how could they be proper guides and good paſtors? Prejudices were accumulated, and religion was ſo diſtorted, that her features could no longer be diſtinguiſhed; conſequently religious motives, which were extended to the regulation of every action, often became principles of errour and folly.

Obſervances and formularies ſubſtituted in the room of duties.

Inſtead of the eſſential duties of chriſtianity, which are excellently calculated for eſtabliſhing order, and inſpiring the principles of rectitude, virtue was made to conſiſt in arbitrary obſervances, which are eaſily reconciled with the commiſſion of crimes. Morality was in a manner ſmothered under a heap of ceremonies which acquired the name of devotion. Relicks, pilgrimages, offerings, and pious legacies, were thought capable of opening the gate of heaven to the moſt wicked of men. Formerly ſome were reſtrained, others corrected, by the ſeverity of penance; but it was imagined that its place might be ſupplied by equivocal marks of piety, from which corrupted hearts ſometimes arrogate a claim to be vicious with impunity. They actually wrought themſelves into a perſuaſion that God required no more, and in a manner purchaſed the privilege of following the bent of their paſſions without remorſe.

Exceſſive abuſe of excommunication.

If the prelates were unacquainted with the ſpirit of chriſtianity, they were ſtill leſs capable of ſetting proper bounds to their authority. Inſtead of conſecrating eccleſiaſtical cenſures ſolely to ſpiritual purpoſes, they converted them into

into a weapon for defending their privileges and ſupporting their pretenſions. The prieſthood, which was principally deſigned to bleſs, was more employed in curſing. Excommunication was made the inſtrument of damning, inſtead of ſaving ſouls, and inflicted according to the dictates of policy or revenge; the great, and even kings, were excommunicated when it was deſigned to rob or to enſlave them: And that inviſible engine was uſed to kindle bloody wars, and work revolutions, as we ſhall ſee in a ſhort time.

The ſpirit of religion oppoſite to theſe vices.

In a word, every kind of exceſs and illuſion was rendered ſacred by ignorance. The hiſtory of theſe ages is a reproach to the human underſtanding. Religion herſelf would be diſhonoured by them, could ſhe be charged with what ſhe condemns in her own miniſters. Her influence ſtill produced ſome eminent patterns of virtue, unhappily loſt in the gulph of the vices, but ſtill proper to confound the guilty.

The corrupt manners of the clergy at that period.

By what miracle could the virtue and ſanctity ſuitable to the clerical profeſſion be preſerved by a body of men ignorant and rapacious, who erected themſelves into an univerſal tribunal; who thought it a diſgrace to ſwear fealty to their ſovereign; who pretended a right to diſpoſe of the crown; and who in France, Spain, and other countries, frequently realized that claim; who, arrogating the privilege of judging all men, would themſelves be judged by none; who ſaw thoſe abſurd pretenſions conſecrated by falſe decretals, by the writings of virtuous and learned prelates, an Abogard of Lyons,

and

and even the celebrated Hincmar of Reims ;—a body of men, who had the power of making peace or war ; and who, notwithſtanding, being always expoſed to the violences of the nobles, as often made uſe of the temporal as of the ſpiritual ſword ? Scarcely were they acquainted with common decency. Even the papal throne was the ſeat of debauchery and vice.—Biſhops married publickly, in defiance of the ſevere canons eſtabliſhed by the Roman church. The generality of prieſts and monks of the ancient orders kept wives, or concubines, without ſhame or ſcruple. The poſſeſſions of the church were turned into a patrimony for the baſtards of the incumbents ; but more frequently they were ſold to the higheſt bidder ; and ſimony, eſpecially at Rome, became a publick traffick, where violence was too frequently joined to the frauds of ſelf intereſt. Even the eccleſiaſtical records will not permit us to doubt of thoſe lamentable truths. Need we be ſurprized that morals were ruined, when vices were authorized by ignorance ?

The reformation of Clugny ſeemed a remedy to the evil.

Diſorders when carried to extremity infallibly kindle ſentiments of zeal and virtue ; and beſides, the publick calamities with which Europe was overwhelmed inſpiring a religious fervour, the monaſtick reformation of Clugny took its riſe about the beginning of the tenth century, and its progreſs was amazingly rapid. Men were ſtruck with a new pattern of holineſs. The monks of this order, diſtinguiſhed for their piety and auſterity, ſeemed ſo many angels deſcended from heaven to ſave the human race.

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Riches lavished on the new monks.

The greater contempt they at firſt ſhewed for wealth, the more eagerly was it heaped upon them. A variety of calamities having introduced a perſuaſion that the end of the world was approaching, people grew indifferent about the wants of their families; imagining that they could ſecure happineſs in another life to themſelves and their children, by a donation of their fortunes to the zealous ſervants of God, who were not prevented from accepting them by the approaching diſſolution of the world. The happineſs of being admitted into their order was eagerly courted. Biſhops, prieſts, and monks, were held in contempt; nor did their conduct deſerve eſteem; and the reformers acquired credit and authority, in proportion to the veneration in which they were held, and the confidence repoſed in them. Hence ſprung the rivalſhips and quarrels between the ſecular and regular clergy, between the monks of the ancient and new orders. At laſt the latter gained the dominion, which was a freſh ſource of diſorders; for this dominion, naturally deſtructive of order, was to them a ſhoal, which proved the wreck of thoſe virtues that had procured them ſo great power, and made them ſo reſpectable.

Contempt for the clergy and ancient monks a ſource of diſorder.

Religion overcharged with new monaſtick obſervances.

Then religion, which had already greatly degenerated from her primitive ſimplicity, found herſelf overcharged with a number of monaſtick obſervances. Vocal prayers were lengthened without end: Genuflexions and other ceremonies acquired a ſuperiour merit; and particular obſervances were held in much more eſteem than

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the duties of morality; ſtrange methods were invented for the relief of the dead, and expiating the ſins of the living: For example, it was pretended that a man might ſatisfy divine juſtice, not only for his own offences, but for thoſe of others, by giving himſelf a certain number of laſhes, which were to buy off ſo many years torment in purgatory. At this period the lives of the ſaints were filled with an infinite number of fables, to give credit to the notions inſtilled into the people. Metaphraſtes propagated theſe fables among the Greeks; the Latins, ſtill more ignorant, were neceſſarily more credulous. In one word, the writings of theſe times are filled with extravagancies, becauſe the pen was in the hands of blind or intereſted ſuperſtition, and the readers were as eager to believe as the writers to deceive. The learned monks or eccleſiaſticks of the preſent age acknowledge all theſe abuſes, in the ſame manner as we confeſs all the follies of our anceſtors. (Vid. *Fleury.*)

Fables of the legendary writers.

About the end of the ninth century they attempted to argue, after they had loſt the rules of common ſenſe. Accordingly there broke out ſome theological controverſies in France. The monk Gotheſcale thought he could throw light upon the myſtery of predeſtination, according to the doctrine of St. Auguſtin; but he found a formidable adverſary in the famous Hincmar of Reims; who, not being able to get the better of him by arguments, cauſed him to be baſtinadoed in the preſence of King Charles the Bald. The monk Ratbert expreſſed the doctrine

Theological diſputes in the ninth century.

Gotheſcale baſtinadced.

Controverſy on the euchariſt between Ratbert and other monks.

doctrine of the real preſence in terms ſo harſh and unuſual, that two of his brethren, Raban and Ratram, ſeemed to controvert the doctrine, though they only attacked Ratbert's expreſſions. Curioſity then began to enquire whether the euchariſt was digeſted, to examine the manner of the virgin's conception, and other matters, which could not be treated even by theologians of the greateſt prudence, without riſking a profanation of the holy myſteries. Happily all theſe diſputes were ſwallowed up in the chaos of the tenth century. What muſt have been the fate of the doctrine of the church, had not the ſpirit of dogmatizing been lulled to ſleep in the lap of the moſt profound ignorance!

Pernicious logick of the eleventh century.

In the eleventh century men again applied to ſtudy; but their only ſcience was a falſe logick which ſubtilized upon words, and gave no idea of things; confounded every thing by pretending to analyze every thing; formed a ſcientifick jargon of itſelf able to annihilate all knowledge; and opened a field of battle to men of fiery tempers, who, as before had been done by the Greeks, with their ſophiſms kindled the flame of controverſy, and gave birth to hereſies. As the new doctors profeſſed only to be theologians, theological ſubjects were the principal objects of their labours; and being neither acquainted with hiſtory, antiquity, nor criticiſm, their ſtudies could ſcarcely produce any good fruits. Accordingly we ſhall find that Berengerius, canon of Tours, by attempting to explain the real preſence, gave birth to the

Diſpute between Berengerius and Lanfranck on tranſubſtantiation.

diſpute

diſpute concerning *tranſubſtantiation*; while the monk Lanfranck, his rival, by cauſing him to be condemned in ſeveral councils, and ſtirring up againſt him the biſhops and popes, expoſed that doctrine, which was diſputed only in a ſingle ſchool, to the attacks of legions of ſectaries.

Unlimited power attributed to the pope by the monks.

The number of abſurdities neceſſarily increaſed by their miſtaken ſtudies; of which we ſhall find too many examples. But the moſt ſtriking of all is the enormous power which opinion conferred upon the popes, and which was propagated chiefly by thoſe pious monks who were become the oracles of Europe. The court of Rome laviſhed upon them unheard of privileges, exempting them from all other juriſdiction but her own, and binding them to her intereſt by every imaginable tie. Beſides being accuſtomed from their youth to obey the abſolute commands of a ſuperiour with the ſame implicit ſubmiſſion as the mandates of heaven, they were eaſily led to ſuppoſe that the head of the church, the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, was inveſted with unbounded authority. Their principles were formed by prejudice and intereſt, and conſecrated by ignorance and enthuſiaſm. A firſt ſtep always led to a ſecond ſtill more bold. A ſucceſsful uſurpation in a ſhort time appeared an undoubted title. Sophiſms and falſehoods were held forth as demonſtrations. In a word, the enterprizes of Gregory IV. againſt Louis the Debonnaire, of Nicholas I. againſt Lothaire king of Lorraine, of Adrian II. againſt Charles the Bald, of John VIII. againſt a number of

ſovereigns,

ſovereigns, of Gregory V. againſt king Robert, are nothing in compariſon of thoſe which were afterwards formed by Gregory VII. whoſe example was zealouſly followed.

Influence of religious ideas.

Thus, in the ſubſequent period, did religion ſerve more than ever as a pretext for the greateſt exceſſes. It entered into all affairs of importance, and was the primary ſpring of all events. It is therefore neceſſary to be acquainted with the errours and abuſes by which it was corrupted. They ought to be looked upon as eſſential to the hiſtory of the human mind, as well as that of political tranſactions; for at that time religious ideas abſorbed all the mental powers of mankind, who certainly never were ſo little acquainted either with politicks or religion.

II.

How the fiefs were multiplied at the expenſe of royalty.

Another diſtinguiſhing character of thoſe two epochas is the anarchy produced by the feudal government. The *beneſices*, or *fiefs*, conferred by the kings on the great men to recompenſe their paſt ſervices, and enable them to perform others, being originally revocable, muſt have ſupported the royal authority, inſtead of ſapping its foundations, had all the kings been like Charlemagne; but the ambition and avarice of the nobles took advantage of the weakneſs of the ſovereigns, and ruined the domain, by extorting new fiefs. Not

Made hereditary in the families.

content with the uſufruct, they were deſirous of becoming proprietors; and the ſpoils of the crown at laſt became hereditary in their families. Nor was it poſſible to avoid this misfortune,

tune, when the throne was filled by kings unſkilled in the art of reigning, who were forced by a continued ſucceſſion of civil diſſenſions and dangers to purchaſe the aſſiſtance, I had almoſt ſaid the protection, of their ſubjects, and the nobles had ſtrength ſufficient to uſurp what it was dangerous to refuſe. The example of a few gave a title and a right to the reſt;—when the bank was once broken, the torrent ruſhed in on every ſide.

Cities and lands uſurped by the nobles and clergy.

The *dukes*, or governours of provinces; the *marquiſſes*, whoſe office it was to guard the frontiers; and even the *counts*, who were charged with the adminiſtration of juſtice, from being originally officers of the king, ſoon became maſters of their dutchies, marquiſates, and counties. The biſhops and monks, after their example, uſurped the cities and lands in which they found themſelves ſtrongeſt. They became more powerful in Germany than elſewhere; becauſe the Othos, through miſtaken policy, wanted to form them into a party againſt the nobles. Hiſtorians aſſure us, that theſe princes granted to the church two thirds of the property of the realm. Ought they not to have foreſeen, that the clergy would be actuated by the ſame paſſions as the laymen, while they concealed them under the awful and formidable appearance of religion?

The clergy more powerful in Germany than in other countries.

Feudal government univerſally eſtabliſhed.

In the ninth and tenth centuries, the feudal government ſtruck the deepeſt roots. Almoſt all the modern ſtates of Europe adopted that conſtitution, which perhaps had an affinity to the ancient German cuſtoms. The king, as

lord paramount, received the homage and oath of his vaſſals for the fiefs which they held of the crown, and which, in default of heirs were to eſcheat to his domain. He had a right to ſummon them to war; to judge them in his court, with their *peers* aſſembled; to confiſcate their fiefs, in caſe of *felony* or revolt. But with theſe exceptions the great vaſſals enjoyed in their own eſtates the rights of regality; they coined money, exerciſed juſtice as ſovereigns, enacted laws, had their court and their vaſſals; in a word, they were for the moſt part powerful enough to make the monarch tremble, if the name of monarch can be given to princes who had no real authority.

Fiefs, and arrear fiefs, endleſsly multiplied.

Anarchy giving free ſcope to violence, and the immediate protection of the great lords being of more utility than the king's, the number of their vaſſals daily increaſed. The poſſeſſors of the free or *allodial* lands ſurrendered them to ſome great man, in order to receive them from him again in fief; as by making themſelves feudatories they ſecured a defender. Hence the fiefs multiplied without end; even mills and bake houſes went under that name; arrear fiefs had under them other arrear fiefs; and there was formed a chain of relative rights, ſo complicated and obſcure, that to explain them would be an impoſſible taſk.

Horrid diſorders which ſprung from the feudal anarchy.

From the feudal anarchy ſprung the moſt dreadful diſorders. Force became the ſupreme law. The great and the petty nobles were always in arms, and only thought of attacking their neighbours or defending themſelves. As there

was

was no authority ſufficient to puniſh crimes, murders and rapine were uninterruptedly perpetrated. Private wars became a kind of publick right. The greateſt part of the nobility, tyrants in their own demeſnes, and robbers in thoſe of others, trampled without remorſe on the principles of equity, and the feelings of nature. Men degenerated into beaſts of prey; and we muſt not be ſurpriſed, that the biſhops had recourſe to abſurd expedients, and invented the *peace of God*, and the *truce of God*, to check the epidemical frenzy. Unſkilful phyſicians attempted to heal incurable diſeaſes; and the remedies were a new ſource of miſchiefs.

The military ſervice due to the ſovereign reduced almoſt to nothing.

Even the military ſervice, though the principal duty of the vaſſals, had no fixed rules either for the duration of the campaigns, the diſtance of place, the number of ſoldiers, or the nature of the wars. It was limited to a ſpace of time; ſixty or forty days, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, according to arbitrary conventions, which could have no ſtability. In certain caſes the vaſſals, far from being obliged to ſerve the ſovereign, had a right to make war upon him. The ſovereign was ſometimes the vaſſal of his vaſſals. In a word, every thing depended upon circumſtances; becauſe the ſtrongeſt either gave law, or refuſed obedience to it. The Scythians, who roamed at large with their flocks, were certainly better governed.

Miſery and ſervitude of the people.

It is needleſs to paint the wretched ſtate of the common people, which the reader may eaſily figure to himſelf. The ſlavery to which they were every where reduced, was leſs afflict-

ing to human nature than the violences and wants to which they fell a prey. Their mental powers, though degraded by oppreſſion and publick calamities, were ſtill in ſome degree capable of reflection; and the feeble glimmering of reaſon they yet poſſeſſed, completed their misfortunes. We need here only remark, that great part of the people had voluntarily entered into a ſtate of ſlavery, as well to the clergy and monks, as to the ſeculars, from a principle of ſtupid devotion, to procure ſubſiſtence by their labour, or to free themſelves from more cruel tyranny. Servitude (who could believe it?) was a reſource in thoſe times of horrour.

III.

The ſpirit of chivalry increaſed the fondneſs for arms.

The ſpirit of chivalry, which was already common, and in ſome reſpects uſeful, became fatal, by augmenting the paſſion for arms and adventures. Among the ancient Germans, the youth were armed for the firſt time with certain ceremonies, calculated to inſpire martial ardour. But chivalry, conſidered as a military and political order, was ſtill modern in the eleventh century. M. de St. Palaye (*Acad. des Inſcript. t.* 20.) has given an entertaining account of that inſtitution, with which we find religion or devotion ſo blended, that ſome enthuſiaſts made it a kind of ſacrament, comparing it to the prieſthood, and even to the epiſcopacy; an idea, in every reſpect, worthy of the ancient follies. After the preſcribed faſts, the novice watched his arms in a church during a whole night,

Religion blended with chivalry.

which

which he paſſed in prayer, received the ſacraments, and performed ſeveral other religious ceremonies, at which prieſts and godfathers aſſiſted; after this he received the ſword and the embrace, and ſolemnly vowed to defend the faith, and to protect the widow, the orphan, and the oppreſſed.

Romantick gallantry borrowed from the Moors.

The Moors of Spain had propagated a romantick ſpirit of gallantry, which became one of the principal characteriſticks of chivalry. To combat for the honour of the ladies, eſpecially for her glory, whoſe knight a man declared himſelf, was a ſacred and inviolable duty. Generous ſentiments began to ſpring up; but it was impoſſible they could be pure in the boſom of the reigning vices.

Enthuſiaſm for chivalry.

This inſtitution was too agreeable to the warlike manners of thoſe ages, not to be received with enthuſiaſm. The young nobility, educated in the houſes of the knights, learned under them the trade of war, and imbibed the ſentiments of religion and love. They ſerved as pages, afterwards as ſquires, aſpiring to the ſupreme rank of knights, to which they could not riſe till after they had given ſignal proofs of courage. Hence reſulted two advantages for the nobility. Thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of the fiefs bred up a number of brave warriors attached to their ſervice; and thoſe of ſcanty fortune found reſources, an education, and means of advancement. But every idea of merit being confined to the objects of chivalry, ignorance, ſuperſtition, and an ungovernable thirſt for war, became more than ever the diſtinguiſhing characteriſticks of the nobles.

Advantages of it to the nobility.

Notwithſtanding

Abuſes of chivalry.

Notwithſtanding the encomiums beſtowed upon chivalry by M. de St. Palaye, his impartiality obliges him to allow, that "the ages in "which it flouriſhed moſt were thoſe of de- "bauchery, rapine, barbarity, and horrour; and "that the knights who were then extolled as "heroes, were frequently ſtained with every "vice and every crime." *(Fifth memoir.)* "Men are inconſiſtent," adds this judicious and learned author, "there is always a vaſt "difference betweent ſpeculation and practice. "In the beſt regulated ſtates, the number of "thoſe who conform to the eſtabliſhed order, is "always the leaſt, unleſs, perhaps, at their com- "mencement. The farther they remove from "their origin, the more abuſes are introduced "by time; but thoſe abuſes ought to be im- "puted to the men, not to the profeſſion they "have embraced. Chivalry, in this reſpect, "underwent the ſame fate as all other inſtitu- "tions; and beſides, to ſpeak freely, by its "very nature it was obnoxious to many incon- "veniencies. If we conſider it, even with re- "ſpect to war, with what diſorder muſt an im- "petuous body of men have fought, who obey- "ed no orders but the dictates of their courage, "and ſeemed to aim only at multiplying their "dangers; who confounded oſtentation with "glory, temerity with valour; and, intoxicated "with falſe prejudices, could never have been "brought to believe, that there were nations of "more prudence; for example, the Lacedemo- "nians and Romans, among whom exceſs of "courage was puniſhed as a want of real ſpirit; "in

1. No diſcipline.

"in a word, a body of warriors incapable of "rallying, and therefore unable to repair their "miſtakes or their loſſes.

"Their conduct ſeemed to be ſolely guided "by a religion entirely ſuperſtitious; confined "to a number of external obſervances, enjoined "by prieſts for the moſt part as ignorant as "thoſe whoſe conſciences they directed. 2. Superſtition.

"As there was but one ſtep from the ſuper- "ſtition of our devout knights to irreligion, "they had but one to make from their fanati- "ciſm in love, to libertiniſm, &c." 3 Debauchery.

Not to take up time with a deſcription of the Spaniſh knights errant, nor the jouſts and tournaments brought into faſhion by the Moors; let us only obſerve, that theſe magnificent and ſanguinary ſports were ſoon brought into vogue among other nations, and the knights of all countries gave the full rein to the paſſion for adventures. To this paſſion the Normans owed their conqueſts in Italy; and it was one of the principal cauſes of the cruſades. The enterpriſes of chivalry, mingled with thoſe of the papal power, will make the following epocha extremely intereſting. Jouſts and tournaments: Paſſion for adventures.

FOURTH

FOURTH EPOCHA.

GREGORY VII.—WARS *of the* POPES *with the* EMPEROUR.—*The* CRUSADES.

[From the Middle of the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Century.]

CHAP. I.

STATE *of the* CHURCH *of* ROME *before the Pontificate of* GREGORY VII.—CONQUESTS *of the* NORMANS *in* ITALY.—CONQUEST *of* ENGLAND *by* WILLIAM.

Confuſion raiſed in Chriſtendom by the popes.

WE now draw near to the period, when the popes, forgetting the limits of their duty as miniſters of peace, kindled the flames of civil wars, armed ſubjects againſt their ſovereigns, and by the terrours of ſuperſtition filled Europe with confuſion. The famous Gregory VII. was undoubtedly the author of theſe miſchiefs; but it muſt have been frequently obſerved, that the evil was long preparing: A knowledge of the events which happened ſome years before he attained the pontificate, will give us a better idea of his deſtructive attempts.

Though

Three popes at the ſame time, who had purchaſed the papacy.

Though the clergy of all the different churches led immoral lives, thoſe of the church of Rome were moſt deeply infected. Benedict IX. the ſucceſſor of John XIX, who died in 1033, was expelled on account of his tyranny and debauchery; but having recovered the Holy See, he ſold his dignity to Gregory VI. who is repreſented by Glaber the monk as a ſaint. After the expulſion of Benedict, Silveſter III. had likewiſe purchaſed the pontificate, and aſſumed the title of pope. All the three were only deſirous of getting money; and this Gregory, who has been ſo much extolled, addreſſed a circular letter to all chriſtians, requeſting a ſupply for the ſuitable maintenance of his dignity. Was it wrong in a co[illegible]emporary hiſtorian to compare eccleſiaſtical [illegible]nities to merchandiſe expoſed openly to ſale? Morals, decency, laws, and principles were totally forgotten.

The emperour Henry III. cauſes them to be depoſed.

The emperour Henry III. ſon of Conrad II. provoked at theſe diſorders, went to Rome in 1046, and cauſed the three popes to be depoſed. Clement II. and after him Damaſus II. were choſen; but their reigns were only of ſhort duration. Henry caſt his eyes next upon his own relation Bruno, biſhop of Toul, a man eſtimable for his exemplary life, he was named pope by the aſſembly of Worms; and, having gone into Italy to demand a canonical election, was enthroned with univerſal approbation, and took the name of Leo IX. The emperour gave him Benevento, as the price of an annual tribute of a hundred marks, which had been paid ever ſince the time of Henry II. in acknowledgment that

Leo IX. elected.

1049. Henry gives Benevento to the pope in exchange for a tribute.

that the dioceſe of Bamberg was under the immediate juriſdiction of the Holy See. By deſtroying the common right, the popes increaſed both their wealth and dominion, even by the fault of the emperours. What numbers of pardons were purchaſed at Rome, which were only abuſes of power!

Leo zealous for reforming abuſes, but deſpotick.

If Leo's moderation had kept pace with his zeal, he would have been better entitled to a place among the number of ſaints. Exceedingly anxious to reform abuſes, and perſuaded that he had a right to employ every means of authority for that purpoſe, he was ſcarcely ſeated upon the papal throne, when he acted as if he had been abſolute. Without the conſent, and even againſt the will of Henry I. king of France, he held a council at Reims, where he depoſed ſeveral biſhops, and excommunicated thoſe who preferred obeying the king to attending the council. He returned to Italy, and on the road depoſed and excommunicated whoever appeared to him to deſerve cenſure. He diſplayed his rigorous ſeverity in a more diſtinguiſhed manner when he held a council at Rome: He ſhowered down anathemas upon all who were guilty of ſimony, or who kept concubines; but that made no alteration in the manners of the people.

He inſults Henry I. king of France.

1050. A council at Paris threatens to ſend troops againſt the hereticks.

A council, which was held the ſame year at Paris, condemned Berengerius and his ſectaries; and declared, that if they did not recant, the whole troops of the kingdom, headed by the clergy in their ſacerdotal habits, ſhould compel them either to ſubmit to the doctrines of the church, or put them to death. The French biſhops

biſhops exerciſing their ſpiritual power in ſuch a manner, it was difficult for a German pope to employ his with ſuitable moderation. We ſhall very ſoon ſee the power of the ſword added to the cenſures againſt the Norman princes who were ſettled in Italy; an eſtabliſhment equally worth our notice for its ſingularity and its effects.

Italy invaded by the Normans.

According to the generality of hiſtorians, forty Norman gentlemen, on their return from a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, in the year 1016, ſaved the city of Salerno, which the Saracens were on the point of ſeizing, and refuſed the rewards that were offered to their heroick courage; carrying into their own country, with the glory of ſo noble an action, a warlike enthuſiaſm, which could not fail to produce conſequences of greater importance. M. de Saint Marc rejects this fact for very plauſible reaſons, and maintains, that the firſt Normans came on a pilgrimage to Mount Gargano; that Melo, a brave Lombard officer, an enemy to the Greeks, perſuaded them to ſettle in La Puglia; that their countrymen were inſpired with the ſame deſire, and that this was the true origin of their conqueſts.

They carry on a war in that country, procure ſettlements, and found the city of Averſa.

On whatever ſide the truth lies, there is no doubt that the Normans ſtill preſerved the intrepid boldneſs and ambition of their anceſtors; and the hope of enriching themſelves by their arms was likewiſe a powerful motive for their coming in crouds to Italy. They offered their ſervices to whoever could beſt pay them; and were ſometimes the allies, ſometimes the enemies of the Greeks. The duke of Naples, to whom

whom they had been of great uſe in a conteſt with the prince of Capua, beſtowed upon them a conſiderable territory, ſituated between the two cities, where they founded Averſa in the year 1029.

The ſons of Tancred, a gentleman of Normandy, ſeize La Puglia.

This eſtabliſhment attracted new adventurers. Three ſons of Tancred of Hauteville, a gentleman of Normandy, one of whom was called *William Fier à bras*, or *Bras de fer**, laid the foundation of a new principality for their family. After having wreſted La Puglia from the catapan (the title of a magiſtrate acting under the authority of the court of Conſtantinople) they ſhared the conqueſt with the other officers. Bras de fer was elected count of La Puglia by his ſoldiers: He was ſucceeded by his brother Drogon, and their younger brother Robert Guiſcard arrived with two others; ſo that this family, conſiſting of twelve heroes, became every day more and more formidable.

1046.

1053. Leo IX attacks them, and is made priſoner.

Italy, continually immerſed in blood, dreaded them as new enemies. Leo IX. ſeeing the lands of the church equally expoſed to invaſion with thoſe of the laity, ſued to the emperour for aſſiſtance; and having formed an army of Germans and Italians, he, in perſon, led them againſt thoſe warriors whom he firſt excommunicated. The Normans, who ſcarcely exceeded three thouſand men, ſent him a moſt reſpectful meſſage, promiſing to do him homage for their fiefs; but the pope having refuſed the offer, they cut his army in pieces, took himſelf priſoner, proſtrated

* Iron arm.

proſtrated themſelves before him, and, having received abſolution, reſtored him to liberty.

Nicholas II. gives them whatever they could conquer to be held in fief.

What they offered to Leo IX. was accepted by Nicholas II. in the year 1059. Robert Guiſcard having received from him the inveſtiture of all the conqueſts which he had gained in La Puglia and Calabria, and all that he might afterwards make, either in that country or in Sicily, to be held in fief, he took the oath of fidelity to the pope; who, in the ſame manner,

He endeavours to attach the Normans to his intereſt againſt the emperour.

gave to Richard, count of Averſa, the inveſtiture of the principality of Capua, which he had not in poſſeſſion. At that time the politicks of the court of Rome wanted a ſupport againſt the emperour, and beſtowed upon the Normans what it had not power to grant, but what they muſt obtain by arms. Thus powerful vaſſals were attached to the Holy See, valuable rights of lordſhip were acquired, and new means of aggrandizement were procured.

Hildebrand author of this policy.

The author of this ambitious policy was the famous Hildebrand (afterwards Gregory VII.) an Italian monk of low birth, but auſtere, aſſiduous, and able, of a bold temper and unruly diſpoſition, zealous for the reformation of the church, but ſtill more for ſupporting the pretenſions of the court of Rome; capable of carrying them the utmoſt lengths, and maintaining them with the greateſt violence. His panegyriſts, who compared him to Elias, doubtleſs imagined, that a pope ſhould cauſe the fire of heaven to conſume whatever oppoſed him. Jeſus Chriſt taught different maxims, but they were not regarded.

Hildebrand

Hildebrand governed the church of Rome a long time before he was elected pope. On the death of Leo IX. in 1055, the Romans ſent him into Germany to chooſe a ſucceſſor, when he fixed upon Victor II. who immediately appointed him legate to France, where he began to diſcharge the duties of his office, by depoſing ſix biſhops for being guilty of ſimony. Stephen IX. abbot of Monte Caſſino, having ſucceeded to Victor, Hildebrand was made cardinal archdeacon. After the death of Stephen, in 1058, his credit was ſo great as to cauſe an antipope to be depoſed, and Nicholas II. whom he entirely guided, to be raiſed to the Holy See.

He governed the church under different popes.

In a council held at Rome, Nicholas publiſhed the celebrated decree, by which it was declared, that the popes were to be elected in future by the cardinals, and afterwards approved by the clergy and people—*Saving the honour due to our moſt dearly beloved ſon Henry* IV. *at preſent king, and who will very ſoon be emperour, according to the grant we have made in his favour; and this honour ſhall devolve to thoſe of his ſucceſſors, to whom the Holy See ſhall perſonally grant the ſame privilege.* Here the right of confirming the election is ſuppoſed to be only a perſonal privilege, though it has been founded on many inconteſtable titles. Henry was very young, and Hildebrand took every advantage.

Council at Rome.

Decree for the election of the popes.

Berengerius, inceſſantly perſecuted by Lanfranck, was compelled to ſubſcribe a formulary at this council, which declared, that the bread and wine, after conſecration, are the true body

Berengerius ſigns a formulary by force, and retracts.

and

and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, *touched and broken by the hands of the prieſts, and bruiſed by the teeth of the faithful.* They imagined, that they had triumphed over the heretick; but his profeſſion of faith, being publickly retracted, became a new ſubject of ſcandal. The turbulent zeal of Lanfranck the monk, like that of Hildebrand, ſpeedily advanced him to fortune.

The pope iſſued decrees againſt ſimony, &c.

The pope again iſſued thundering decrees againſt the concubinage and ſimony of the clergy; but it ſeems extraordinary, that while he attacked this abuſe with ſo much violence, he ſtill retained the archbiſhoprick of Florence. Leo IX. had kept the biſhoprick of Toul, and his example had been followed by others. What privileges did they not attach to the title of ſovereign pontiff, or *univerſal biſhop?* This laſt title was undoubtedly introduced in oppoſition to that of *ecumenical patriarch*, the aſſumption of which was declared to be a crime in the patriarchs of Conſtantinople.

1061. Alexander II. choſen without the conſent of the court.

After the death of Nicholas II. Hildebrand, who had juſt made the Norman princes feudatories of the pontificate, cauſed Alexander II. to be elected without deigning to conſult the court. The Empreſs Agnes, widow of Henry III. who was regent during the minority of her ſon, wanted to defeat this attempt, and Cadalous, biſhop of Parma, was choſen by ſome biſhops, by the name of Honorius II. Some German troops were ſent to put him in poſſeſſion; but the German princes ſuddenly changed the government; the archbiſhop of Cologne carried off young Henry from his mother, and

Cadalous was oppoſed to him in vain.

the

the antipope was abandoned and thrown into priſon.

The new pontificate was actuated by the temper of Hildebrand, whoſe friend Peter Damien, a zealous promoter of new monaſtick devotions, ſignalized himſelf on ſeveral occaſions in quality of legate. He was particularly ſolicitous in France to confirm the privileges of Clugny, which went ſo far as to prohibit the biſhops, even in their own dioceſes, from excommunicating a monk, upon pain of being themſelves excommunicated. He diffuſed the practice of voluntary ſcourgings, which very ſpeedily degenerated into fanaticiſm. This pious cardinal, whoſe own life was exceedingly auſtere, adopted ſome maxims very convenient for ſinners: He ſuppoſed it poſſible to do penance in the place of others. We are aſtoniſhed to read what he ſays to a prelate in one of his letters—*You know, that when penitents give us ſome property in lands, we leſſen the penance in proportion to the gift.* His works are one of the moſt remarkable monuments of the falſe ideas and credulity of that age. (See *Fleury.*)

Peter Damien legate. His falſe ideas on ſeveral ſubjects.

As the papal court was conſtantly engaged in politicks, the orders, decrees, threatenings, and thunders of Rome, gave birth to tranſactions, which would appear incredible, if prejudice and ignorance were not all powerful. Even the conqueſt of England by the Normans was in ſome degree derived from this ſource, which is one of the moſt remarkable events of the eleventh century.

The court of Rome engaged in politicks.

Edward, king of England, dies without heirs.

Edward the Confeſſor, a prince of the royal family of Anglo Saxons, ſucceeded to the throne which had been in the poſſeſſion of the Danes. Being prohibited from conjugal commerce by his devotion, he was without iſſue: Having ſpent the early part of his life in Normandy, he bore great affection to his relation duke William, and was deſirous to nominate him to the ſucceſſion; but the Normans already in the kingdom had made themſelves deteſted, from their influence with the king. The Engliſh were ſo jealous, that they were on the point of entering into a rebellion, which obliged him to diſmiſs them; and after his death,

The Engliſh chooſe Harold.

Harold, a powerful and ambitious lord, whoſe politicks had been employed for a conſiderable time in paving the way to the throne, was elected by the people.

1066. William duke of Normandy wants to conquer that kingdom.

Harold had, for his competitor, a hero of equal bravery and capacity; the famous William duke of Normandy, a baſtard ſon of duke Robert, who had defended himſelf againſt the attempts of Henry I. king of France, and againſt his own vaſſals, who wanted to deprive him of the ſucceſſion. Having ſecured peace at home, he ventured to attempt the conqueſt of England, to which he had no other claim but a real or pretended will of Edward in his favour. His reputation, and that of his Normans, attracted crouds of warriors to his ſtandard. He procured the favour of the emperour's court, and even of that of France, where Philip I. who was ſtill a minor, had ſhewn no qualities deſerving a throne; but one of the

chief

chief ſecrets of his policy was, to procure the approbation of pope Alexander, who ſent him St. Peter's ſtandard as a pledge of a juſt and infallible victory, after having anathematized Harold as a tyrant.

Favoured by the pope.

The duke diſembarked in England with ſixty thouſand men. He made a vow to build a monaſtery upon the field of battle; gained a deciſive victory at Haſtings, in which Harold was killed; compelled the Engliſh to ſubmit, and reigned by the right of conqueſt. The minds of the people had been ſo terrified by the anathemas of the pope, that the king's brother made uſe of that as an argument to diſſuade him from coming to action. If Harold had taken his advice, it is probable, that the ſeverity of winter, fatigue, and famine, would have deſtroyed the army of the enemy. Conquerors are much indebted to the faults committed by thoſe whom they attack.

He ſucceeds in his enterpriſe.

Alexander II. or rather Hildebrand, by whom he was governed, profited by a conqueſt which was undertaken with the ſanction of pontifical authority. England received a legate for the firſt time. The pontiff, by means of his legates, acted as if he had been perſonally preſent, and exerciſed abſolute authority in every country. Lanfranck, that Italian monk, whom the deſire of promotion had carried into France, being placed in the ſee of Canterbury, and made primate of the kingdom, laboured effectually to eſtabliſh Italian principles.

Firſt legate in England.

Though William appeared a devotee, he did not carry matters ſo far as to make the rights

But William keeps the clergy in ſubordination.

of the crown yield to the church: He would not allow the canons of the ſynods, or even the bulls of the pope, to be enforced, till they had the ſanction of the royal authority. The clergy raiſed no commotions during his reign.

CHAP. II.

PONTIFICATE *of* GREGORY VII.—*His* QUARRELS *with the Emperour* HENRY IV.

1073. Hildebrand pope, by the name of Gregory VII.

AFTER the death of Alexander, Hildebrand was at laſt elected pope, though without the conſent of the imperial court; but he prudently deferred his conſecration until the neceſſary approbation was obtained; which was the more readily granted, becauſe of this proof of his ſubmiſſion. The young emperour Henry IV. did not foreſee the evils which ſuch a pontiff would occaſion. Gregory VII. the name aſſumed by the new pope, very ſoon ſhewed himſelf the enemy of all the kings in Chriſtendom. Auſtere, enterpriſing, and inflexible, his temper and prejudices made him capable of overturning kingdoms.

His ſyſtem of univerſal monarchy.

It is very difficult to believe, that a ſimple monk, having become the head of the church, ſhould aim at univerſal monarchy, look upon all chriſtian kings as his vaſſals, and ſeriouſly attempt to make them ſubmit as ſuch to his authority; notwithſtanding, it is evident from his letters:

letters: Beſides, whoever will compare the former ſituation of the pontiffs with the power to which they were arrived at this period, may conceive, that an enterpriſing genius might form ſuch a project, and perhaps greatly advance the execution, if he was poſſeſſed of equal vigour and addreſs.

He began with declaring his pretenſions to Spain, and demanded a tribute for the conqueſts gained from the Saracens—*For*, ſays he in a letter to the Spaniards, *certainly you are not ignorant, that the kingdom of Spain, being formerly a part of St. Peter's domain, ſtill belongs to none but the Holy See.* He prohibited them from making conqueſts, if they did not faithfully pay their tribute, wiſhing rather to ſee the kingdom ſtill in the poſſeſſion of infidels, than the church *treated by her children as if they were her enemies.* After ſuch a declaration nothing is incredible.

He alleges that Spain belonged to the Holy See.

Philip I. king of France, a weak and vicious prince, having put a ſtop to the conſecration of a biſhop of Macon, and being alſo accuſed of ſelling benefices, Gregory wrote to the biſhop of Chalons ſur Saone, that the king muſt change his behaviour, or expect to be puniſhed by the authority of St. Peter, and that *the French againſt whom a general anathema ſhall be denounced, muſt refuſe to obey him, if they do not rather chooſe to renounce the chriſtian faith*; upon which Philip ſent ambaſſadours to aſſure him of his reſpect and obedience.

He threatens to make France revolt againſt Philip.

New complaints were very ſoon heard on account of a few pilgrims who had been uſed ill, and the extortions on ſome Italian merchants at a fair,

He ſends dreadful orders to the biſhops againſt the king.

fair, which afforded a ſufficient pretence for the pope to write to the biſhops—*Your king, who paſſes his whole life in the commiſſion of diſgraceful crimes, is not a king, but a tyrant. If he will not hearken to you, ſeparate yourſelves from the ſervice and communion of that prince, and lay all France under an interdict. If he is not corrected by this anathema, let him know, that, with the help of God, we will employ every means to free the kingdom from oppreſſion.* In another letter, he rails againſt *the deteſtable unexampled crime of Philip, king of France, or rather a devouring wolf, and iniquitous tyrant.* This atrocious crime was nothing more than having levied a contribution from ſome Italian merchants.

He delivers up France to the deſpotick ſway of a legate.

Whether it was owing to Philip's having made a ſubmiſſion, or that the affairs of Germany prevented Gregory from proſecuting him, we find the *tyrant* continue on the throne; but France was given up to the tyranny of a dreadful legate, biſhop of Die, a Frenchman, who became the ſcourge of the nation, ruling with the moſt deſpotick ſway, holding councils againſt the orders of the king, depoſing a number of biſhops without any form of trial, requiring troops and money for the ſervice of the pontiff; in one word, trampling all the rights both of the crown and epiſcopacy under his feet.

He wants the kingdom to pay him tribute.

Gregory alleged, that France ſhould pay the tribute of, at leaſt, a penny each houſe, as was paid by England; and though he could not effect this, he ſo far ſucceeded as to eſtabliſh the primacy of Lyons, the only one which has prevailed

vailed againſt the ancient regulations of the national clergy.

He could not reduce the married prieſts to diſcipline.

Though he was conſtantly denouncing excommunications againſt ſimony and the marriages of the clergy, he found it more difficult to contend with vices than with ſovereigns: He forbid the people to hear maſs from married prieſts, prohibited them from exerciſing any eccleſiaſtical function, and gave orders that celibacy ſhould be religiouſly obſerved. So great was the influence of cuſtom over church diſcipline, that theſe laws, publiſhed by a council held at Rome, appeared intolerable, and excited ſeditions. Gregory was treated as a heretick who corrupted the doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt and St. Paul.—*If he perſiſts, we will rather renounce the prieſthood than our wives, and he may find angels to govern his churches.* According to the hiſtorians of thoſe times, this was the common language. Even Lanfranck could not put the law in force: At a council held in Wincheſter, he forbid the canons to keep wives, but permitted the prieſts in the country to keep theirs; only commanding, that, in future, none ſhould be admitted into prieſts or deacons orders without taking a vow of chaſtity. A great part of the clergy and people, notwithſtanding the ancient decrees of the councils, almoſt every where, at this time, looked upon eccleſiaſtical celibacy as no matter of duty. They exclaimed then in the Weſt nearly as much as they would have done in the Eaſt, if a patriarch of Conſtantinople had attempted to make the Greek clergy ſubmit to celibacy.

The

1075. The right of princes to give the inveſtiture of the greater benefices.

The pontiff had nothing ſo much at heart as to render the prieſthood independent of princes, and thereby the more dependent on Rome. To allege, that he looked upon celibacy as a means of attaining that end, becauſe men who are without families have fewer inducements to attach them to ſociety, is a conjecture hazarded by writers of doubtful authority; but there is no room to queſtion the motive which occaſioned the quarrel about inveſtitures. The biſhops and abbots holding their fiefs of the ſovereigns, ought, as well as other lords, to receive the inveſtiture from them. This ceremony put them in poſſeſſion of the temporalities of the churches; and their dependence in this reſpect appears the more juſt, that in quality of lords they are richer and more powerful.

To render the clergy independent, Gregory VII. alleged, that it was ſimony.

The cuſtom of inveſting them by a croſs and ring, which the prince cauſed to be delivered to them, was eſtabliſhed in Germany in the ninth century; and certainly nobody ever imagined, that the ſpiritual authority of a miniſter was intended to be conveyed to them by this ceremony; but however, Gregory VII. alleged, that it was ſo, on purpoſe to find a ſpecious pretence of annihilating that right of ſovereign princes. He treated the act of inveſtiture as ſimoniacal, and, at a council held in Rome, forbid the clergy from receiving it at the hands of the laity, under pain of excommunication. The biſhops of Germany, eager to withdraw from the authority of the emperour, could not fail to ſupport this proceeding with zeal, and thoſe of other countries were equally intereſted.

Such

Such was the ſource of the wars between the prieſthood and the empire, which were the more dreadful, as they led to the ſpilling human blood upon religious pretences.

As real ſimony was common, at that time, all over Europe, falſe zeal found reaſons to diſguiſe its actions. Kings who had ſcarce any power, territory, or money, were glad to derive ſome advantage from the benefices, and did not heſitate ſometimes to ſell them; nor was there any difficulty in finding purchaſers: This was the effect of the manners and circumſtances of the times. We have likewiſe ſeen the papal throne ſold to a number of purchaſers, by the clergy who elected the popes. Where did diſorder not prevail? Is a right invalidated by being abuſed?

Real ſimony at that time very common, furniſhed him with pretences.

Gregory wanted chiefly to fall upon Henry IV. a courageous young prince, who was miſled by his youthful paſſions, and had traded in benefices; he was at that time engaged in a war with the rebels of Saxony, whoſe inſolence had carried them ſo far as to make them propoſe to him to decide by a duel, whether or not he ſhould continue emperour. During this civil war, Rome had already given him diſturbance, and he had the prudence to ſhew ſome condeſcenſion upon the occaſion: He even requeſted Gregory to excommunicate the Saxons as being guilty of ſacrilege; but they applied to the ſame tribunal, accuſing him of ſimony and other crimes. They were ſoon obliged to ſubmit, but the pontiff prepared his thunders againſt the emperour.

He diſturbs the emperour Henry IV. who was at war with the Saxons.

The

1076. He ſummoned Henry to appear before him. The emperour depoſes him at Worms.

The terms of accommodation had been juſt ſettled at a diet, when two legates ſuddenly arrived, and ſummoned Henry to appear before the pope on an appointed day, to anſwer the accuſations of his ſubjects. He replied to this inſult, by cauſing the pope to be depoſed in a council held at Worms, obſerving to him afterwards, that a ſovereign has no judge but God alone, and cannot be depoſed for any crime, eſpecially if he has not renounced the faith. (A remarkable and very hazardous reſtriction, for it was eaſy to accuſe a prince of hereſy who ſeemed to attack the church in the perſon of her chief.) Upon which the pontiff, in full council, in the name of St. Peter, pronounced a thundering anathema, by which he deprived Henry both of his German and Italian dominions, abſolving all his ſubjects from their oath of fidelity, and prohibiting them from acknowledging him as their ſovereign. This was the firſt inſtance of a king being depoſed by a pope; but this ſentence ſerved as a precedent for many others.

The pope in council depoſes Henry.

The counteſs Matilda aſſiſts at that council.

Nothing is perhaps more extraordinary, than to ſee the celebrated counteſs Matilda, and her mother Beatrice, aſſiſting in the council at Rome, where the depoſition was pronounced. They were ſovereigns of a great part of Italy, and blindly devoted to Gregory, whom they encouraged, by promiſing to employ their whole force againſt Henry, though their near relation. This was not the ſlighteſt ground for the confidence of the pope, who was likewiſe acquainted

quainted with the diſpoſition of the Germans to rebel.

Sophiſtry of Gregory againſt crowned heads.

He took care to juſtify ſuch an odious enterpriſe in his uſual manner, by employing ſophiſtry inſtead of proofs. *If the Holy See* (ſaid he in his letter to the biſhop of Metz) *has received a power from God to judge in ſpirituals, why not in temporals? If ſpiritual men muſt be judged, wherefore ought not the ſecular to be puniſhed for their offences? They perhaps imagine, that the royal dignity is ſuperiour to the pontifical, but the difference may be known by their origin. The one has been invented by the pride of men, the other inſtituted by divine goodneſs; the one purſues vain glory; the other aſpires only after heaven, &c.* From ſuch reaſonings we may conclude, that royalty ſhould be aboliſhed, and the ſovereign pontiff acknowledged the ſole maſter of the world.

His ſentence determines the Germans to revolt.

Gregory, by his letters, his legates, and ſome fanatical devotees ſent on purpoſe into Germany, made his ſentence of equal weight as if it had been pronounced by God. Provoked at the ſcandalous ſale of benefices, at ſome oppreſſions, and the licentious life of the prince, the Germans, even thoſe who had depoſed the pope, did not heſitate to declare againſt the emperour. An aſſembly held at Tibur deliberated upon taking the moſt violent meaſures, and Henry humbled himſelf ſo far as to make an offer of reſigning his government into the hands of the lords, provided that he might retain the title and enſigns of royalty. It was determined, that the pope ſhould be invited to decide

Henry was declared to be depoſed, if he did not get himſelf abſolved in a year.

decide the affair at Augſbourg; that if the emperour did not get himſelf abſolved from the excommunication within a year, he ſhould forfeit the crown irrecoverably; that in the mean time he ſhould live at Spires, as a perſon excommunicated, excluded from the church, and debarred from diſcharging any publick office. They imagined, at that time, that being excommunicated a whole year, *according to the Teutonick law*, would deprive him of all fiefs, and his whole property. The Germans ſeemed to embrace ſlavery, while forging chains for the emperour.

CHAP. III.

Continuation of the DISPUTES *of* GREGORY VII. *with the* EMPEROUR.—DEATH *of* WILLIAM *the* CONQUEROUR.

1077. Henry goes to beg mercy of the pope at Canoſa.

HENRY, depreſſed by diſgrace, obliged to yield to the dictates of rebels, and afraid of the conſequences of a ſentence which he could not prevent, came to a reſolution to go and beg mercy of the pope his oppreſſor, and preſented himſelf as an humble penitent, at Canoſa, on the Apennines, a town belonging to the counteſs Matilda, where Gregory reſided with her. This fortreſs was ſurrounded with a triple encloſure of walls. Henry was ſtopped at the ſecond, and obliged to wait three days barefooted

barefooted, and without a ſervant, in the middle of winter, until it pleaſed the pope to give him audience; which he at laſt obtained by dint of prayers and promiſes, after having ſubmitted to ſo ſevere a trial. Upon engaging to appear before the German diet, to ſubmit to the ſentence of the pope, to loſe his crown if it was the will of his holineſs, and in the mean time not to diſcharge any of the functions of royalty, he received abſolution. Henry ſwore to whatever was propoſed to him.

He is abſolved upon ſevere conditions.

Gregory then ſaid maſs, and having conſumed one half of the hoſt as a proof of his innocence, preſented the other half to Henry, inviting him to take the ſame method of juſtifying himſelf; but the prince undoubtedly being affected with religious ſentiments, begged to be excuſed, on pretence that the abſent would not be ſatisfied with this proof.

Proof of the euchariſt, to which the pope wants to make him ſubmit.

The Lombards, in the mean time, diſſatisfied with Gregory, and exclaiming againſt the weakneſs and diſhonour to which Henry had ſubmitted, threatened to dethrone him, and place his ſon in his ſtead. This circumſtance revived his courage; he violated his oath, and recovered the affections of the Lombards; but the Germans, eſpouſing the cauſe of the pontiff, depoſed him, and at the diet choſe Rodolphus duke of Suabia in his place.

The Lombards make Henry break his oath.

The Germans depoſe him, and chooſe Rodolphus.

Gregory, at firſt, durſt not declare for either party, but gave out, that he would decide in favour of him who ſhould be moſt ſubmiſſive to the Holy See. At laſt, he determined that his legates ſhould judge the affair upon the ſpot,

Gregory wants to judge the two princes.

and

and denounced anathemas againſt whoever attempted to obſtruct them.—*We bind him*, ſaid he in his decree, *not only in mind but in body, depriving his life of proſperity, and his arms of victory.* People would have thought, that fortune and the elements were at his diſpoſal.

1080. He iſſues an abſurd and odious decree againſt Henry.

After ſome unfortunate expeditions, Rodolphus at laſt gained a victory, which turned the ſcale in his favour. Immediately the haughty Gregory, in a council at Rome, again deprived Henry of the ſovereignty of Germany and Italy, ſtripping him of all power and royal dignity, forbidding all chriſtians to obey him as their ſovereign, and condemning him to have no power in battle, or even to be victorious. Such is the language of the decree, which he concludes with an apoſtrophe to St. Peter and St. Paul, conceived in the following terms—*Shew then the whole world that, if you can bind and looſe in heaven, upon earth you can give or take away empires, kingdoms, principalities, dukedoms, marquiſates, earldoms, and the poſſeſſions of all men according to their demerits. . . . . Let the kings and princes of the age know your power; let them tremble who deſpiſe the commands of your church! Let your juſtice be immediately manifeſted upon Henry, that there may be no doubt of his having fallen by your power, and not by chance!*

His extraordinary apoſtrophe to St. Peter.

His maxims in favour of the pontiffs and clergy.

We have a ſecond letter to Heriman, biſhop of Metz, which unmaſks the opinions of Gregory, and his principles of unexampled deſpotiſm: He there alleges that the meaneſt exorciſt has higher authority than any lay lord; for the exorciſt commands devils, to whom wicked

wicked princes are ſlaves: That the prieſts are evidently ſuperiour to kings, becauſe they judge kings, and can abſolve them from their ſins: That good chriſtians, even of the loweſt rank, ought to be regarded as kings, rather than vicious princes, for the one are members of Jeſus Chriſt, and the others of the devil: That with greater reaſon the popes are ſuperiour to all, being rendered impeccable by the papacy; and ſince the time of St. Peter, almoſt a hundred popes have been reckoned among the greateſt ſaints. How was it poſſible, that, after the ſcandalous enormities of the tenth and eleventh centuries, any man could preſume to make holineſs a kind of privilege inherent in the pontificate? Opinion has frequently gone ſo far as to change abſurdities into fundamental doctrines; and canoniſts have declared in their writings—*that the pope is neither a God nor a man, but a middle being.*

He ſuppoſes the popes are impeccable.

Abſurdities of ſome canoniſts.

Henry, who was more diſpoſed by nature to acts of violence than Gregory, enraged at the affronts which he had ſuffered, broke through all bounds. He cauſed the pope to be depoſed in a council, and Guibert, archbiſhop of Ravenna, to be choſen in his place. Having defeated Rodolphus, who fell in the action, he returned to Italy with his antipope and an army; but Gregory had contrived to procure aſſiſtance. Beſides the counteſs Matilda, who was governed by him, and had ſhewn her attachment to the Holy See, by a donation of all her dominions, he could depend upon Robert Guiſcard, duke of Calabria and La Puglia, and

1081. Henry defeats Rodolphus, and marches againſt Gregory,

who is protected by Matilda and the Normans.

and the other Normans. Though he had formerly thundered anathemas againſt them, he behaved to them upon this occaſion with all the addreſs of a ſkilful politician. A bloody war was again kindled in defence of the pontiff, who undoubtedly forgot that he ought to have been a miniſter of peace.

1084. He is beſieged, and delivered by Robert Guiſcard.

After different expeditions and a long ſiege, Henry IV. made himſelf maſter of Rome, where he was crowned emperour by Guibert, who had been enthroned by the name of Clement III. Gregory, who was excommunicated by a council at Utrecht remained ſhut up in the caſtle of St. Angelo, till he was delivered by Robert Guiſcard, who flew to his aſſiſtance; but not thinking himſelf ſafe in Rome, after fulminating new excommunications againſt the antipope and emperour, he retired to Salerno, and died the following year, 1085. His laſt expreſſion, which was borrowed from the Holy Scriptures, would have been worthy of the greateſt ſaint—*I have loved juſtice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile.*

Death of Gregory VII.

To what length the prejudices reſpecting excommunication were carried in his time.

The attempts of Gregory VII. may in ſome degree be excuſed, from the prejudices which had been eſtabliſhed by forged decretals, and were continually increaſing through the ignorance of the times. They went ſuch lengths with reſpect to excommunication that the perſon excommunicated ſeemed to be totally excluded from civil ſociety. Whoever held any commerce with him was, in his turn, excommunicated; and they who had any communication with the laſt were alſo excommunicated; and

and ſo on by infinite progreſſion. This excluſion did not relate ſolely to religious communication, but likewiſe to the ordinary tranſactions of life, and even to things the moſt indiſpenſable. Gregory thought he had ſhewn great *lenity* by excepting the wives, children, and ſervants, of thoſe people who were excommunicated, and permitting them to ſupply with neceſſaries thoſe who were under the yoke of excommunication. According to ſuch principles, which were very different from the ancient regulations, an excommunicated prince muſt of courſe be depoſed.

His pretenſions to univerſal dominion.

This pope frequently repeated, in his letters, theſe words of Jeremiah—*Curſed is he who dyeth not his ſword in blood.* He applied them very ill, and forgot the true principles of his holy miniſtry: But whence could he derive the idea that France, England, Spain, Denmark, Hungary, Dalmatia, Poland, even Ruſſia, &c. owed him the tribute, homage, and oath of fidelity, which he required? that Saxony had been given to the Roman church by Charlemagne? that the emperour of Germany, elected after Rodolphus, ſhould acknowledge himſelf his vaſſal, and obey him in every thing? that the empire which was attached to the German crown muſt of courſe hold of the See of Rome, though the emperours had the inconteſtible right of confirming the election of the pontiffs? If prejudice and ſpiritual arms could have eſtabliſhed ſuch a ſyſtem, this new empire of the prieſthood would have eclipſed the conqueſt of

the Romans, who had been ſo formidable in ancient times.

William the Conqueror refuſes to pay him homage.

The conqueror of England, by his ſteady politicks, was the only one who made himſelf reſpected by a pope who trampled crowns beneath his feet. Gregory having ſummoned him to do homage and pay a tribute (for that was the name he gave to the *Peter pence*, which the devotion of king Offa had ſettled as an offering) William replied, that he was very willing to pay him the *Peter pence*, as had been the cuſtom; but inſtead of doing homage, he enjoined the biſhops not to go to Rome to hold a council; and Gregory gave orders to his legate not to irritate him. "Though he does not "behave ſo religiouſly in ſome things as we "could wiſh," ſays the pope in his letter, "however, as he does not ſell benefices, nor "join the enemies of the Holy See, and has "even ſworn to make the prieſts leave their "wives, and the laity to quit the tythes, he "deſerves to be more reſpected than the oth-"er kings."

and obliged him to court him.

How that prince behaved to the biſhop of Bayeux, who was guilty of treaſon.

We may judge by the following anecdote what would have been the conduct of William, if the clergy had revolted. The biſhop of Bayeux, his uterine brother, laid a plot to go to Rome with a conſiderable treaſure, accompanied by a great many nobles, in the hopes of being elected pope. The king, informed of the conſpiracy, reproached him with being guilty of treaſon, and commanded the lords to arreſt him; but no one daring to lay hands on a prelate, he ſeized him himſelf. The brother claimed

claimed the eccleſiaſtical immunities. *I do not arreſt the biſhop*, cried William, *I only arreſt the earl*, for he had made him earl of Kent.

He reigned deſpotick in England,

This monarch was the oppreſſor of England, where he exerciſed with the utmoſt rigour the right of the ſword, by which he gained the crown. Some inſurrections of the Engliſh afforded him a pretence for ſubduing them, and perhaps he could not by any other means have brought them to ſubmiſſion: So afflicting to mankind are conqueſts. He ſtripped them of their property to reward his followers; he endeavoured to annihilate their laws and cuſtoms, and even their language: The publick acts and the pleadings of the courts were in French: In a word, he rendered his government hateful; but he knew how to give it ſtability: His politicks were thoſe of a bold and able deſpot.

He fights with one of his ſons.

One of his ſons, whom he intended to ſucceed him as duke of Normandy, wanted to get poſſeſſion before his time, and being ſecretly ſupported by the court of France, revolted. William purſued the rebel; concealed by their helmets, and unknown to each other, they met in the field and engaged; when the king, being wounded, fell from his horſe; upon which prince Robert (that was the name of the rebel) diſcovering that it was his father, inſtantly threw himſelf at his feet, and with difficulty procured his pardon.

1087. He revenges himſelf for a piece of raillery of Philip I.

Philip I. king of France, by an indiſcreet raillery, expoſed himſelf to the anger of a dangerous vaſſal more powerful than himſelf. William being provoked took up arms, and pene-

trating as far as Mante, burnt that city, and would have carried his rage to Paris, if he had not been prevented by a deadly diſorder. When upon his death bed he reproached himſelf with having ſpilled ſo much human blood, but to diſpel his fears of futurity, he enumerated his good works: He congratulated himſelf upon the reſpect he had ſhewn to the church; on having raiſed Lanfranck and Anſelmo, and other illuſtrious monks, to the higheſt dignities; on having augmented and enriched ten abbeys founded by his family; and upon having eſtabliſhed ſeventeen new monaſteries of monks and ſeven of nuns in Normandy. He gave orders that his treaſures ſhould be diſtributed among the churches and the poor. In this manner did ſome men expect to be looked upon as ſaints, after having been the ſcourges of the human race. He was ſucceeded in England by his ſecond ſon William Rufus, who ſeized the crown by force of arms; Robert, the eldeſt, had only Normandy and Maine; Henry, the youngeſt, who at firſt had ſcarce any ſhare in the ſucceſſion, at laſt gained poſſeſſion of the whole.

His ſentiments upon his death bed.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

PONTIFICATE *of* URBAN II.—*He profecutes the Affair of* INVESTITURES.—*He keeps upon good Terms with none but the* NORMANS.

GREGORY VII. ſtill ſeemed to reign in the perſon of his ſucceſſors. The abbot of Monte Caſſino, whom he had recommended on his death bed, and who was elected by the name of Victor III. immediately renewed the decree againſt inveſtitures, and depoſed every emperour, king, duke, marquis, &c. that ſhould prove refractory to this ordinance. He expreſsly declared, that all were hereticks who were guilty of ſimony; that is to ſay, both the princes who gave, and the beneficiaries who received, inveſtiture. The quarrel was rendered more furious by this pretended hereſy. Victor died when aſſiſting at the council where his decree was publiſhed in the year 1087. Another monk, a native of France, and who had become biſhop of Oſtia, likewiſe recommended by Gregory VII. as worthy of the pontificate, was next elected to the See, and took the name of Urban II. This pope, on his acceſſion, wrote letters to every kingdom in Chriſtendom, declaring that he would faithfully follow the maxims of Gregory; ſo that new ſtorms were to be expected.

Victor III. declares all who were guilty of ſimony hereticks.

His death.

Urban II. takes Gregory for his model.

Philip

1092. Scandalous divorce of Philip I. king of France.

Philip I. of France, brought a dreadful one upon himſelf, by his ſcandalous divorce from his queen Bertha, who had borne ſeveral children to him. Having fallen in love with Bertrade, third wife of the count of Anjou, he alleged the common pretence of kindred againſt the queen; which was the more eaſily done, as the prohibition of marriages with relations to the ſeventh generation had been lately revived. Notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the celebrated Yves biſhop of Chartres, he not only divorced her, but very ſoon married his miſtreſs, whom he carried off from her huſband.

He is excommunicated by the Pope's legate.

Urban II. immediately interfered in this affair, and in his letter threatened, that if the king perſiſted, *he would pierce the adulterous Midianites with a ſword more ſharp than that of Phineas*. His legate, at a council in Autun, thundered his anathemas againſt the emperour Henry IV. and Guibert the antipope, who were excommunicated with Philip. The king ſubmitted to the excommunication without parting from Bertrade, and derived new hopes from the death of Bertha. Bertrade, even with the conſent of the count of Anjou, maintained that her firſt marriage was null. The evil might have been remedied with gentleneſs; but the pope preferred violent meaſures.

1095. Urban excommunicates him again in the council of Clermont.

His mind being filled with the great project of the cruſades, which we ſhall have occaſion to mention in another place, he arrived in France to ſtir up the enthuſiaſm of that people, who were but too much inclined to ſuch enterpriſes.

priſes. For this purpoſe he held the council of Clermont ; and there once more excommunicated Philip, after having forbidden princes to give inveſtiture, and biſhops and prieſts to pay them homage. He commanded whereever he went: He formed a league, and levied troops, without the conſent of the prince in whoſe territories he was born. He next travelled from province to province, preaching up, or commanding the people, in the name of God, to join in the holy war; depoſing biſhops, and laviſhing privileges on the monks, whom the politicks of Gregory and his ſucceſſors thought ſo uſeful to the court of Rome by their zeal for its ſervice. At the council held by the pope at Nimes, the monks were transformed into cherubims ; and all who did not believe them deſtined to the offices of the holy miniſtry, and adminiſtering the ſacraments, were taxed with folly. It is, however, certain, that by their inſtitution they were devoted to ſolitude ; but it muſt be confeſſed, at the ſame time, that the generality of the other prieſts were unworthy of their profeſſion.

He commands as ſovereign.

Privileges laviſhed on the monks.

So ſtrong was the influence of monaſtick ideas, that the following remarkable canon was enacted the ſame year at Rouen : *Every man ſhall be ſhorn as a Chriſtian ought to be ; without which he ſhall be expelled from the church ; and no prieſt ſhall perform divine ſervice for him, nor aſſiſt at his burying.* Anſelmo the monk, and ſucceſſor of Lanfranck in the ſee of Canterbury, who was famous for his diſputes with the kings of England on the ſubject of the homage which he refuſed, commanded,

Decree which makes it a crime to wear long hair.

manded, that all the laity ſhould have their hair cut ſo ſhort as to expoſe their ears. For the ſake of peace Henry I. conformed to the canon.

Whimſical decrees againſt inveſtitures, and againſt the homage due to crowned heads.

It is highly deſerving our attention to obſerve how dangerous a wrong turn of mind, a whimſical idea, or only the abuſe of words, is, in caſes where religion ſeems to be concerned. All the councils thundered againſt inveſtitures, and treated the homage paid to ſovereigns by the clergy as a ſacrilegious abomination: *For*, ſaid Urban II. in a new council held at Rome, in the year 1099, *it is execrable to ſee hands that have been employed to do what has not been permitted to any of the angels, to create the creating God, and to offer him up to his father for the ſalvation of mankind, reduced to the degrading meanneſs of being the ſlaves of hands ſtained day and night with impurities, with blood and rapine.* In the form of doing homage, the vaſſal puts his hands between thoſe of the lord paramount. This was the crime ſo debaſing to the prieſthood. It is impoſſible to reply to ſuch reaſonings, ſupported by anathemas.

Abſurd reaſons on which they were founded.

The croſs is the ſymbol of paſtoral authority, ſaid the biſhops and monks; the ring, that of the ſpiritual marriage of the prelate with his church: They then, who give inveſtiture by the croſs and ring, pretend to give the holy ſpirit, and are therefore guilty of ſimony and hereſy.

The intereſt of the popes and the ſuperiour clergy was the principal motive.

But whoever examines things to the bottom, and penetrates the meaning of theſe deceitful words, will find it evident, that the intereſt of the ſuperiour clergy, but more eſpecially of the popes, gave birth to this odious quarrel. The

biſhops

biſhops wanted to render themſelves independent of the crown; the popes wanted that the biſhops ſhould depend ſolely upon the court of Rome; both the one and the other, perhaps, concealed the true motive, and concealed it under the maſk of religion. Yves biſhop of Chartres, a virtuous and enlightened prelate, adhering to the true principles, was the only one who in his writings maintained, that the kings, by giving inveſtiture, did not mean to convey any thing ſpiritual; that they only approved of the election, or granted to the perſon elected the lands for which the church was indebted to the liberality of princes; that therefore it was of little conſequence what ſort of ceremony was employed, whether the hand, the mouth, a motion of the head, or the croſs. Reaſoning too ſound to be reliſhed.

Yves biſhop of Chartres, a better reaſoner on inveſtiture.

A ſtriking proof of the ſecret motive with which all was animated, is the conduct of the pope to the Norman princes, whoſe power daily increaſed. Robert Guiſcard had married his daughter to the ſon of Michael Ducas, emperour of Conſtantinople, after having ſeized almoſt all that remained to the empire in Italy: He then carried the war as far as Greece; and having made the emperour Alexis Comnenus tremble, died at Corfu in the year 1085. His talents and valour revived in his ſon Bohemond, one of the moſt celebrated heroes of the cruſade. Sicily already belonged to the Normans, having been conquered by Roger, the youngeſt of that family, who had been brought from the extremity of France to ſettle in Italy. The Saracens and Greeks,

The Normans become very powerful in Italy.

They had conquered Sicily.

Greeks, who were ſettled in that iſland, ſubmitted, on condition that their religion and laws ſhould be preſerved. Robert Guiſcard, leader of the expedition, had given the inveſtiture of it, with the title of Count, to Roger.

1098. Urban II. ſends a legate *a latere* to Sicily.

Though the Norman princes acknowledged themſelves the vaſſals of the Holy See, there were none ſo little the ſlaves of the court of Rome. Urban II. wanted to have a legate *a latere* in Sicily, as well as in other places, to command in his name. From the time of Nicholas I. theſe miniſters of the pope, who were ſent all over Chriſtendom, ruled ſovereigns, oppreſſed the clergy, and ruined the people; they judged, commanded, and puniſhed moſt arbitrarily, with a deſpotiſm which prejudice had rendered reſpectable. Hildebrand had made the yoke more grievous; and in fact, at this time, Rome governed as effectually by opinion, as ſhe had formerly done by her arms. What the kings of France ſubmitted to, a Norman gentleman would not ſuffer. Urban had ſent his legate,

Count Roger will not admit him, and the pope gives the authority of legate to the count.

but count Roger would not permit him to exerciſe the powers of his office; and ſhewed ſuch ſteady reſolution, that the pontiff, finding the neceſſity of keeping upon good terms with him, gave to the count and his heirs the authority of legate in Sicily; that is to ſay, gave him the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction.

Bull of the monarchy of Sicily.

His celebrated bull, which has been preſerved by the monk Geoffrey de Maleterre, a hiſtorian of that time, declares—*We ſhall not eſtabliſh any legate of the Roman church in your territories, without your conſent; and it is our pleaſure, that whatſoever*

ſoever we would have done by a legate, ſhould be executed by you, as if you were our legate a latere. This extraordinary privilege, which is called *the monarchy of Sicily*, has been conſtantly maintained, notwithſtanding every effort of the court of Rome to get it aboliſhed. After all, what is it that the pope grants? The power which the Roman emperours and Charlemagne poſſeſſed with regard to church government. What ſurpriſes at one time is cuſtomary at another.

1099. Paſcal II. imitates his predeceſſor Urban II.

Urban the Second, dying the year after, was ſucceeded by Paſcal II. a monk of Clugny, who had been made cardinal by Gregory VII. as haughty and enterpriſing as Gregory himſelf, whoſe diſpoſition ſeemed to be inherent in the papacy. William Rufus, king of England, hearing that the new pope reſembled Anſelmo archbiſhop of Canterbury, with whom he had ſo many diſputes, exclaimed, *He is good for nothing, then; but let him be what he will, his papacy ſhall not reach to me.* This violent monarch ſpared neither prieſts nor monks; and it is therefore imagined, that they have painted him in worſe colours than he deſerved, although he merited very great cenſure.

Expreſſion of William Rufus againſt the Pope.

King Philip again excommunicated.

At a council of Poitiers, the legates of Paſcal excommunicated king Philip anew, notwithſtanding the interpoſition of William count of Poitiers, and duke of Aquitaine, who in vain attempted to ward off the blow. Part of thoſe who aſſiſted at the council roſe in a riot; a ſhower of ſtones was diſcharged upon the legates and biſhops, and one of the prieſts had his ſkull fractured. Such inſults to religion ſhould have

Acts of violence.

have ſerved as a warning. Bertrade, againſt whom the anathema was levelled equally with the king, laughed at it, and wanted to hear maſs ſaid at Sens, where all the churches were ſhut againſt them. She cauſed one of the gates to be broken open, and a prieſt, who was attached to her, performed the ceremony.

He humbles himſelf, and with Bertrade, gets abſolution.

Philip, however, earneſtly ſolicited abſolution, and at laſt prevailed with the pope. He went bare footed to a council at Paris with Bertrade, to ſwear, that they would give up a commerce which they could not get legitimated. Being abſolved by a legate, they ſtill continued to live together ; and their children were declared capable of inheriting the crown. From hence it was believed, that their marriage had been approved, and that Paſcal diſſembled, becauſe he had more weighty buſineſs to engage his attention.

CHAP. V.

New Attempts of the POPES *againſt the Emperour* HENRY IV.—*His miſerable* DEATH. HENRY V. *by whom he was dethroned, follows his Example.—End of the* DISPUTES *about* INVESTITURES.

The pope ſtirs up Conrad, the ſon of Henry IV. againſt his father.

THE emperour Henry IV. againſt whom the anathemas of Rome were conſtantly levelled, was a dreadful proof of the ills produced by the abuſe of eccleſiaſtical power : Urban

Urban II. and the counteſs Matilda perſuaded his ſon Conrad, who was openly ſupported in Italy, to rebel againſt him. The emperour prevailed with a diet to deprive Conrad of the right of ſucceſſion in favour of his ſecond ſon Henry, who ſwore that he would not revolt. This oath was deemed neceſſary; ſo much had the prevailing ſuperſtitions effaced the laws of nature. Conrad died ſoon after. Henry IV. hoped to correct abuſes, by publiſhing ſome laws to cauſe the important affairs of the church to be regulated by a national tribunal, compoſed of lords and biſhops, and to prevent the pope from exerciſing the authority of ſupreme judge; but theſe laws only ſerved to provoke his enemies.

1097.

Henry puniſhes the rebel, and makes laws to reſtrain the power of the pope.

Paſcal II. by whom he had been already excommunicated, according to cuſtom, artfully impelled the young Henry to take up arms againſt his father, on pretence of defending the cauſe of the church, and abſolved him from his oath, as if that had been the ſole obſtruction to his committing ſo atrocious a crime. The father, by a moſt affecting letter, invited the rebel to repent; but he replied, that he neither acknowledged an excommunicated perſon for his father nor his king. However, they agreed to have an interview, which only ſerved to give the ſon an opportunity of completing his treachery, by arreſting the emperour, and compelling him to renounce the throne. Young Henry was crowned at Mentz, in preſence of the pope's miniſters; while the father could not even obtain abſolution; he made his eſcape, and, after having

1105. Paſcal II. makes his other ſon rebel againſt him.

The ſon betrays and dethrones the father.

ing assembled an army, was irrecoverably defeated.

Henry IV. reduced to beg a prebend for subsistence.

Being reduced to extreme misery, he applied to the bishop of Spires to give him a prebend for his subsistence; representing, that he was capable of officiating as a chanter or reader: Even this favour was refused; and he died at Liege, in the year 1106, after having sent his sword and crown to the rebel. To complete the horrid scene, the unnatural son caused his body to be dug up by order of the pontiff; for an excommunicated prince was to be persecuted even beyond the grave. This prince had both vices and virtues, and perhaps would have reigned gloriously, if the popes had behaved to him like pastors, and not despots. It is said, that he had been engaged in sixty six battles.

His death.

His body dug up.

Courageous fidelity of the clergy of Liege.

It is worthy of our attention to observe, that the bishops of Cambray and Liege continuing attached to him, Pascal II. stirred up the count of Flanders to take up arms against them, and he was seconded by the invectives of the monks; but the clergy of Liege, in a letter addressed to *wellwishers*, vindicated the obedience of subjects, and shewed the injustice of the pope. "*If the* "*emperour is a heretick*, said they prudently, *we* "*are sorry for it; but even should he be so, we still* "*think it our duty to obey him, and to pray for* "*his conversion, instead of rebelling against his pow-*"*er. From whence do the popes derive the power* "*of drawing the sword of murder, and saying to* "*the count of Flanders*—We command you to "carry on this war for the remission of your "sins?" &c. The people of Liege were excommunicated,

communicated, and ſuffered all the calamities of war. To join F. Longueval the Jeſuit, and condemn their apology as an inſult, we muſt be perſuaded that the pope was in the right.

Henry V. become emperour by his parricide, maintains the right of inveſtiture.

When Henry V. had taken advantage of the excommunication denounced againſt his father, and triumphed by his parricide, he was not afraid to maintain the ſame right of inveſtiture againſt the pope, which he had formerly thought deſerving of the moſt dreadful anathemas. Paſcal II. foreſeeing freſh diſturbances, went into France, where the popes had been accuſtomed to inſult the kings, and at the ſame time to find reſources. Philip I. and his ſon Louis, who was joined with him in the ſovereignty, notwithſtanding the grounds they had for reſenting the behaviour of the popes, promiſed whatever he required, and ordered the biſhops to follow him to Chalons ſur Marne, to hold a conference with the ambaſſadours of Henry V. It muſt be owned, that the French, like the other nations, were at that time ſlaves to the pontificate.

Paſcal II. goes to France to aſk ſuccour.

1107. Conference with the ambaſſadours of Henry V. Abſurd reaſonings of the Pope.

The diſputes at the conference were very warm, but ended in nothing: According to the common cuſtom of reaſoning without principles, the pope maintained, that the church, which had been redeemed with the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, ought not to be allowed to ſink again into ſervitude; that ſhe muſt be the ſlave of princes, if ſhe could not chooſe a prelate without their conſent; that it was inſulting God to give inveſtiture by the croſs and ring, which belonged to the altar;

altar; and that it was a great diſhonour for conſecrated hands to be placed between the bloody hands of a layman. The German ambaſſadours had given better reaſons, and did not deign to reply to theſe ſophiſms; but, tranſported with rage, exclaimed—*At Rome the ſword ſhall decide the diſpute.* After their departure, Paſcal, in a council at Troyes, denounced new anathemas againſt inveſtitures.

The ambaſſadours appeal from them to the ſword.

It ſeems that the claim was renounced in France. Henry I. king of England, third ſon of William the Conqueror, had likewiſe relinquiſhed it; becauſe the pope conſented, that the biſhops ſhould do homage, which had formerly been prohibited, as well as the inveſtiture; and from policy he took care to be on good terms with the clergy. He not only had uſurped the crown, in prejudice of his eldeſt brother Robert duke of Normandy, who was one of the heroes of the cruſade, but likewiſe ſeized his dukedom, and kept him confined in priſon. What a number of cauſes for anathemas being denounced againſt him, if he had not been prudent enough to accommodate matters with the pope!

Henry I. king of England, renounces inveſtiture from policy.

IIII. In the mean time Henry V. being reſolved to get himſelf crowned at Rome, and to maintain his privilege by force of arms, marched with an army into Italy. Paſcal was too late in his application to the Norman princes, his vaſſals; and, for want of aſſiſtance, was obliged to enter into a negotiation at Sutri, where it was agreed, that the emperour ſhould renounce the inveſtitures, not interrupt the freedom of elections, reſtore the

The emperour goes into Italy with an army.

Paſcal enters into an agreement which cannot be executed.

the domains of St. Peter, and make no attempt upon the life or liberty of the pontiff: On the other hand, the pope agreed to reſtore the *regale*; that is, the lands, the fiefs, all the regal rights, either uſurped from the crown, or beſtowed by the liberality of princes; that he would crown Henry, and give him ſuccours. It was impoſſible to execute this treaty; and neither party was ſincere, or had any confidence in the other.

They quarrel again, and the pope admits the right of inveſtiture.

Henry was received at Rome, and declared emperour by Paſcal; but the biſhops were very far from agreeing to the reſtitution of the regale, without which the emperour would not give up the right of inveſtiture. The pope refuſed to crown him, if he did not abſolutely renounce it; the nobles and prelates, in the train of the emperour, declared the convention of Sutri null; upon which they immediately quarrelled, and the pope was made priſoner. He then authenticated the right of inveſtiture, crowned Henry, and preſenting to him one half of the hoſt during maſs—*As this part of the vivifying body is ſeparated from the other*, ſaid he, *ſo may whoever of us breaks this treaty be ſeparated from the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt!* Henry aſked leave to bury his father, whoſe body had been dug up by order of the court of Rome, and obtained it; but not before ſome biſhops had atteſted, that Henry died a penitent.

Henry IV. buried.

1112. Paſcal very ſoon declares the treaty null.

He had ſcarcely ſet out to diſcharge that duty, when complaints were heard every where againſt Paſcal. The pontiff, who had already repented of the treaty, zealouſly ſeized the opportunity of breaking it; at a council held in Rome, he de-

clared it null, and vowed an eternal attachment to the decrees of Gregory VII. and Urban II. The inveſtitures were anathematized by the council, and a violent fanaticiſm let looſe its rage againſt the emperour, who was excommunicated at Vienne, in Dauphiny, a city in his own dominions. Conon, the legate, excommunicated him likewiſe at Jeruſalem, and held councils in Greece, Hungary, Saxony, Lorraine, and France, to fulminate new ſentences againſt him. A monk, who was abbot of Vendome, carried his zeal ſo far as to accuſe the pope of prevarication; and in a letter, which he wrote to him upon that ſubject, alleges, that to ſubmit to inveſtiture, *according to the fathers*, is hereſy; and, by granting it, the faith, purity, and liberty of the church are deſtroyed. Joſceram, archbiſhop of Lyons, writing with the ſame warmth, confeſſes that, properly ſpeaking, the inveſtiture is not a hereſy; but to believe it lawful, certainly is one. To what is religion not expoſed by uniting the prejudices of ignorance and party ſpirit with its doctrines!

Fanatical rage againſt the emperour, and againſt inveſtitures.

Rebellion, civil war, and maſſacres, were revived; the decrees of the church were become ſanguinary laws; Paſcal was afraid, that by excommunicating the emperour he would perjure himſelf; but the legates and councils did it ſufficiently, and the Saxons and other rebels procured him ample means of being revenged.

Excommunication and civil wars.

While all Germany was in flames, the famous counteſs Matilda died, who had been the ſlave and ſupport of the court of Rome ever ſince the time of Gregory VII. She was in poſſeſſion of Tuſcany,

Death of Matilda.

Tuſcany, Parma, Placentia, almoſt all Lombardy, Spoleto, &c. ſhe was ſole heireſs of the duke and marquis Boniface, her father, and of her mother, the dutcheſs Beatrix, of the family of Charlemagne. She was the widow of Godfrey Crookback, duke of Lorraine, and married Guelph, duke of Bavaria, from whom ſhe was divorced. Some time before her death ſhe renewed the bequeſt of all her territories to the Holy See, which could not fail to occaſion freſh diſturbances. The greateſt part being fiefs of the empire, ſhe had no right to diſpoſe of them; but it is not ſurpriſing that Gregory VII. thought the title ſufficient; however, the emperour came to take poſſeſſion of his dominions.

Her bequeſt to the pope.

The greateſt part of her territories were fiefs of the empire.

He came to Rome, from whence Paſcal II. had fled for refuge to the Normans, and was crowned again by Maurice Bourdin, a legate entirely devoted to his intereſt. After having excommunicated this legate, and endeavoured to recover Rome, Paſcal died, and was ſucceeded by Gelaſius II. an old monk of Clugny. The emperour not being able to prevail with Gelaſius to approve of inveſtiture, ſet up Bourdin as antipope. Though Gelaſius was at firſt protected by the Normans in Italy, he was obliged to fly to France; where he died, and was replaced by the archbiſhop of Vienna, who took the name of Calixtus II.

1117. Henry V. in poſſeſſion of Rome.

Bourdin antipope.

This pope was a relation of Henry, and wiſhed to put an end to the diſpute, without relinquiſhing the plans of his predeceſſors. While he was holding a council at Reims, Henry came to confer with him in perſon near Mouzon; but

Calixtus II. abſolves the ſubjects of the emperour from their oath of fidelity.

as they did not agree, the conference was ſoon over. New excommunications were fulminated againſt the prince, and the ſubjects abſolved from their oath of fidelity. Oaths were no longer regarded, when they could be annulled by the word of a pontiff. Calixtus ought to have been convinced of the hatefulneſs of this abuſe, from the anſwer of the king of England, whom he urged to reſtore a prelate, who had entered into a diſpute with the crown. Henry I. excuſing himſelf by ſaying, that he had ſworn never to reeſtabliſh him—*I am pope*, ſaid Calixtus, *I will abſolve you from your oath.* The king anſwered —*And what credit will be given to oaths, if it is ſeen, from my own example, that they can be cancelled by abſolution?*

Expreſſion of the king of England on the reſpect due to oaths.

The pope's principal object was to expel Bourdin, the antipope, who reigned in Italy; and the Norman princes having ſupplied him with the means, he beſieged him in Sutri. This unfortunante man was delivered up to him by the inhabitants, who loaded him with reproaches when he was led to Rome riding backwards upon a camel, and expoſed to the inſults of an enraged populace; after which he was thrown into priſon for life. The pope every where proclaimed his victory, and cauſed himſelf to be painted with Bourdin at his feet. Moderation would have done him more honour, but that was a virtue no longer known.

The pope triumphs haughtily over Bourdin.

1122. The emperour in danger agrees with the pope about the inveſtiture.

The emperour was likewiſe obliged at laſt to ſubmit. The Saxons, who were always in rebellion, had forced him to enter into a diſgraceful treaty; the archbiſhop of Mentz had raiſed an

an army to oppoſe the inveſtitures and the ſovereign, and the throne was upon the point of being overturned by excommunications. Henry prudently ſought for ſafety in a peace, which was concluded in a diet held at Worms; where he not only gave up the right of inveſtiture *by the croſs and ring*, but likewiſe the nomination to benefices, and even the *regale of St. Peter*; that is, the ſovereignty of the territories of the church. The pope conſented, that the election of biſhops and abbots ſhould be made freely in his preſence, and that the perſons elected ſhould be inveſted with the regale *by the ſceptre*.

This accommodation proves the abſurdity of the quarrel.

Thus, by ſubſtituting the ſceptre to the croſs and ring, one of the moſt dreadful diſputes that ever diſtracted the human race was brought to a concluſion. There needs no better proof of the cruelty and abſurdity of ſuperſtition; for if the giving or receiving inveſtiture be a hereſy, as had been frequently decreed, what ſignified whether it was performed with a croſs or a ſceptre?

Opinion of Muratori on this ſubject.

"*Nothing leſs was required*, ſays Muratori, "*to eradicate an abuſe which had inſenſibly crept* "*into the church, againſt all the ancient cuſtoms,* "*that had always maintained the freedom of e-* "*lections, by openly condemning ſimony.*" Had this reſpectable author forgotten, that even the practices of antiquity degenerated into abuſe, when the face of the church had been changed by ignorance and the paſſions? How were elections carried? How are they at this day in ſome countries? Beſides, whether the prelates were choſen according to the canons,

or

or nominated by princes, they equally received inveſtiture; ſo that this reflexion of Muratori ſeems to be ill founded.

1123. General council of the Lateran.

A general council held at the Lateran, where more than three hundred biſhops aſſiſted, confirmed the peace between the emperour and the prieſthood, pronouncing anathemas againſt whoever ſhould infringe the *truce of God*, the obligation to keep which, was always acknowledged, yet conſtantly violated. They likewiſe excommunicated whoever ſhould ſeize Benevento; a precaution which ſufficiently proves, that temporals were not neglected. The prelates, upon this occaſion, were likewiſe zealouſly animated againſt the power of the monks—"*They have only*, ſaid they, *to take the* "*croſs and the ring from us, and ſubject us to* "*them, ſince they poſſeſs our churches, lands, caſ-* "*tles, tythes, and the oblations both of the living* "*and the dead: The canons and clergy are con-* "*temned, ſince the monks, who, inſtead of living* "*in ſacred repoſe, according to the rules of St.* "*Benedict, are prompted by inſatiable ambition* "*to uſurp our rights.*" In conſequence of this, the abbots and monks were prohibited from giving the privilege of penance, viſiting the ſick, and even chanting publick maſſes. This is a very extraordinary contradiction to the decrees of Urban II. and ſome other popes: But the power of the monks was not injured; they increaſed daily in number, credit, and riches, having the court of Rome and the temper of the times in their favour. It is evident from every hiſtory, that from them the enormous

The biſhops attack the monks.

power

power of the pontiffs was principally derived, becauſe at that time they had the whole power in their hands.

1124. Attempt of Henry V. againſt Louis the Fat.

Henry V. expected to recover his authority, and to be revenged of his enemies: He could not forgive Louis VI. ſurnamed the Fat, ſucceſſor of Philip I. king of France, for having received and protected the pope, and in ſome degree aſcribed to him the abuſe with which he was treated by the council of Reims. He wanted to humble France, that he might afterwards reduce the princes of Germany, who were become independent; and joining with his ſon in law Henry I. king of England, who was then at war with Louis about ſome places in Normandy, he marched at the head of a numerous army: But the French ſignalized themſelves by their zeal upon this occaſion; and though the vaſſals were not very ſubmiſſive to the crown, they were eager to arm againſt a foreign enemy; ſo that Louis was ſupported by an army of two hundred thouſand men. On the other hand, while the emperour was advancing towards Champagne, he received the news of a revolt, which made him immediately repaſs the Rhine without having ſtruck a ſtroke. It may be aſked, Why did not Louis with this great army go and attack Normandy? The reaſon was, becauſe, though his vaſſals were very willing to defend him, yet they did not chooſe to increaſe his power. They readily conceived, that a duke of Normandy, who was at the ſame time king of England, was a formidable aſſal for a king of France; that ſuch a rival-

The zeal of the French defeats his deſigns.

Policy of his vaſſals.

ſhip

ſhip would neceſſarily ſubſiſt between them, as might frequently occaſion bloody wars; by which the other vaſſals might preſerve their independence, and they had no deſire to break the equilibrium in favour of the lord paramount. Such was the ground work of feudal policy.

CHAP. VI.

Schiſm of ANACLETUS.—*Pontificate of* INNOCENT II.—*St.* BERNARD'S *univerſal Influence over the Minds of the* PEOPLE.

1125. Conrad and Lothaire choſen emperors.

THE emperour Henry V. dying in the year 1125, without iſſue male, the crown was claimed by his two nephews the dukes of Suabia and Franconia. The votes of the greateſt part of the princes were in favour of Conrad, duke of Franconia; but by the intrigues of the archbiſhop of Mentz, and his influence over the lower rank of nobility, Lothaire, count of Suplenbourg, was choſen and proclaimed, though oppoſed by a majority of the princes. Conrad went into Italy, and was crowned at Monza, and afterwards at Milan. Honorius II. having ſucceeded Calixtus, Lothaire, by a formal embaſſy, ſent to inform him of his election; and the popes, who miſſed no opportunity of turning every thing to their advantage, from that time changed this proof of civility into an indiſpenſable duty.

Lothaire ſends an embaſſy to the Pope.

It produces important conſequences.

War

War was very ſoon kindled in Italy, and Honorius did not fail to excommunicate the competitor of Lothaire; but a greater misfortune, which ſet all Europe in a flame, was the ſchiſm occaſioned by the death of the pope in the year 1130. A few of the cardinals met clandeſtinely, and elected the cardinal Gregory, an old monk who took the name of Innocent II. but the reſt, being a majority of that body, aſſembled upon the ſame day, at the uſual time, and publickly elected Peter de Leon (who had been a monk of Clugny, the grandſon of a baptiſed Jew, whoſe family was conſiderable from its wealth) and gave him the name of Anacletus. Twenty ſeven cardinals, the ſuffragan biſhops of Rome, the archprieſts and ſeveral abbots, wrote to the emperour Lothaire, that the election of Anacletus, was the only canonical one, and that the other was made by a few who had been guilty of ſimony. The chief cardinal of his party wrote to thoſe of Innocent's—*Is this your manner of chooſing a pope, in a corner, in the dark, and in ſecret, without conſulting, or even ſummoning us?* &c. Anacletus was repreſented by the other faction, as a bad man, who muſt have been a diſgrace to the Holy See. Undoubtedly there was partiality on both ſides.

1130. Schiſm of the church between Innocent II. and Anacletus.

The firſt was choſen clandeſtinely.

This diſpute was the prelude of a war, and, in all appearance, the ſtrongeſt would remain in poſſeſſion of the pontificate. Anacletus ſecured the intereſt of the Normans, who were become formidable in Italy, by giving the title of King of Sicily to count Roger II. duke of

Anacletus gains the Normans, and gives the title of King of Sicily to Roger.

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La Puglia and Calabria, with the ſovereignty of Naples and Capua, upon condition that he did homage, and paid the cuſtomary tribute. Honorius had excommunicated this prince, who aggrandized himſelf without his permiſſion. The behaviour of the popes to the Normans, and of them to the popes, always varied according to contingencies.

But Innocent was ſtrongly ſupported by St. Bernard.

Innocent was ſupported by a man capable of making him triumph over all his enemies; I mean the famous St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, a Burgundian monk, of the new order of Ciſtercians, of an active, auſtere, and inflexible temper, whoſe genius, eloquence, virtue, and reputation, had ſuch influence upon the minds of men, that he became the arbitrator in affairs of the greateſt conſequence, the oracle of the people, and in ſome degree the ruler of biſhops, popes, and kings. This extraordinary perſon, diſtinguiſhed by his abilities, enflamed with zeal for whatever he thought concerned the cauſe of religion, but tinged with the prejudices of the cloiſter, becauſe all his notions were formed on the maxims to which he had been habituated by his profeſſion, was deſtined to put all Europe in motion, as his opinions or pious intentions directed; but the reſpect due to his ſanctity ought not to incapacitate us from ſeeing thoſe defects which he derived from nature, and the age in which he lived.

Bernard gets him acknowledged in France;

The French balanced between the two popes, and Louis the Fat, who inclined to Anacletus, ſummoned a council to decide the matter: They referred the deciſion to St. Bernard, who declared

clared in favour of Innocent, upon which he was immediately acknowledged with univerſal acclamations. Gerard of Angouleſme, who had been legate under Honorius, ſtill hoping to preſerve the ſame title, had repreſented Anacletus as an uſurper, and a man of looſe morals, and was doubtleſs believed by the holy monk; but he very ſoon contradicted his own evidence; for upon being refuſed the office of legate, which he ſolicited from Innocent, he declared in favour of his rival, and occaſioned a ſchiſm in the kingdom.

and by the king of England;

Innocent being driven out of Rome, took refuge in Piſa, and from thence haſtened to France, where he was received with the greateſt reſpect, and plentifully ſupplied with money by the profuſion of the people. The king of England looking upon his title as very doubtful, was prejudiced againſt him, but his ſcruples were diſpelled by St. Bernard. *What are you afraid of,* ſaid he to Henry; *expiate your other ſins, and I will take that upon my own head.* Henry no longer heſitated, and immediately paid his reſpects to the pope.

and by the emperour Lothaire, who fruitleſsly demands the reſtoration of inveſtitures.

Lothaire was at Liege, where Innocent arrived, and was received with the greateſt reſpect by the emperour, who led his horſe by the bridle, performing the office of a ſimple equerry; but he took the opportunity of demanding, that the right of inveſtitures ſhould be reſtored, which greatly embarraſſed the pope: However, Bernard, who attended him, openly diſputed the rights of the emperour, bore him down by his ſpirited eloquence, and obliged him to relinquiſh

linquiſh his claim. Being abſolute maſter of the minds of the people, he ſeemed to dictate to crowned heads.

He inveighs againſt Anacletus and his party.

His letters, which, from the picture they give of the manners and ſtate of affairs at that time, are a very great curioſity, were filled with that zeal which influenced his conduct. *The beaſt in the Revelations, to which it has been given to blaſpheme and make war againſt the ſaints, has ſeized the apoſtolick chair, like a furious lion ready to devour his prey. You have another beaſt near you, which hiſſeth in ſecret; the firſt is more fierce, the other more ſubtle.* This is the language of his letter to Geoffry de Lorron, afterwards archbiſhop of Bourdeaux. The two beaſts were, the antipope, and his legate the biſhop of Angouleſme. Theſe anecdotes ſeemed to me to be of conſequence, to mark the character of the age with which virtues and vices are equally impreſſed.

Innocent II. makes a gift of Corſica and Sardinia.

While the king of Sicily ſuppreſſed a rebellion in La Puglia, Lothaire introduced Innocent with a ſmall army into Rome, and received from him the imperial crown*, with the uſufruct of the territories of the counteſs Matilda, upon

* Some years after, a picture was painted at Rome, in which the ceremony of the coronation was repreſented, with theſe two wretched lines under the figures:

Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores,
Poſt homo fit papæ, ſumit quo dante coronam.

The court of Rome would have it, that the expreſſion *homo papæ* (the pope's man) is a proof, that the empire is a fief of the Holy See; but it would be eaſier to prove, if ſuch matters were to be decided by ancient titles, that the territories of the Holy See are a fief of the empire.

upon condition of his doing homage for them to the Holy See. The pope, at the ſame time, gave Corſica to the Genoeſe, and Sardinia to the people of Piſa, upon condition that they expelled the Saracens. The popes were always beſtowing what did not belong to them. Innocent was very ſoon obliged to fly from Rome, and take ſhelter at Piſa, where he held a council, that he might again excommunicate Anacletus and his coadjutors. St. Bernard was the life of this council, and it was to him that the pope owed the ſubmiſſion of the people of Milan, who at that time embraced his cauſe. Bernard refuſed the archbiſhoprick of Milan, and ſome other Sees, and in his monkiſh habit acted a more conſpicuous part than the pope, but from humility deſpiſed honours.

1134. He is obliged to retire to Piſa, where he holds a council.

This unhappy ſchiſm was again to occaſion the ſpilling of much human blood. Anacletus triumphed in Italy by the aſſiſtance of the king of Sicily, and the emperour came with an army to reſtore Innocent; when he ſeized La Puglia from king Roger, and wanted to inveſt count Rainulf, but was oppoſed by the pope, who alleged, that the inveſtiture ſhould be given by him; however, they accommodated the diſpute by each of them placing a hand upon the ſtandard of La Puglia, while the ceremony was performed. The conqueſts of Lothaire were interrupted by a rebellion breaking out in Germany, and king Roger found no difficulty in recovering what he had loſt. At laſt, the death of Anacletus promiſed the ſpeedy extinction of the ſchiſm, and Gregory the new antipope, in

War between the emperour and the king of Sicily, on account of the ſchiſm.

1138. Death of Anacletus.

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Bernard prevails with the antipope Gregory to ſubmit.

two months after his election, yielding to the perſuaſions of St. Bernard, was led by him to the feet of Innocent II. The ſaint congratulated himſelf, that the triumph of the church was *his crown and his glory*.

The pope pretends to give benefices in fief.

In a general council held the following year at the Lateran, Innocent, according to a cotemporary author, ſpoke in the following terms: *You know, that Rome is the capital of the world, that eccleſiaſtical dignities are received by the permiſſion of the Roman pontiff, to be held as fiefs, and cannot be lawfully poſſeſſed without his leave, &c.* This was what the great affair of inveſtitures led to.

Canon on the authority of princes.

The twentieth canon declares—*We do not refuſe to kings and princes the power of adminiſtering juſtice after conſulting the biſhops.*

Tournaments and croſsbows were prohibited.

Not only tournaments were prohibited, a prudent reſtriction frequently and uſeleſsly renewed, but likewiſe the *odious and murdering art* of croſsbow men and archers, that had been employed againſt the infidels. It would have been better to have prohibited war among Chriſtians. What would they have done, had the uſe of fire arms been known?

Innocent taken priſoner by Roger, to whom he gives the inveſtiture of Sicily.

The king of Sicily having been excommunicated, becauſe he refuſed to ſubmit but upon advantageous terms, once more took up arms, and Innocent marched againſt him in perſon, but falling into an ambuſcade, was taken priſoner. Roger profiting by this advantage, procured the inveſtiture of the kingdom of Sicily anew, as he had done before from Anacletus, and the treaty being concluded, went to kiſs the pope's feet, to beg his pardon, and to do him homage;

homage ; upon which the uſurper, who had been loaded with anathemas, became a virtuous and reſpectable prince in the eyes of the court of Rome. St. Bernard, who had very much abuſed him, wrote to him very affectionately, and ſent him a colony of his monks.

Univerſal influence of religion in civil matters.

There was ſcarcely any affair of conſequence tranſacted during this period, in which the eccleſiaſtical power was not ſeen contending with the civil ; or, at leaſt, in which religious prejudices were not the primary cauſe. What good might not religion, that powerful and univerſal ſpring, have done, if, freed from the deluſions of ignorance, it had only been employed to impreſs the ſentiments and love of virtue, with divine truths, upon the minds of men ? Unhappily, its miniſters, who were ſome of them too ambitious, others but little informed, diſturbed kingdoms, and led the people aſtray, by miſtaking its principles.

1142. Quarrel of Louis the Young with the pope.

This was the cauſe of a ſtorm which burſt in France. Louis VII. ſurnamed the Young, had ſucceeded his father Louis the Fat, in 1137. He was a good eaſy tempered devotee, but paſſionate, and jealous of his rights and of his honour. The chapter of Bourges having choſen an archbiſhop who was diſagreeable to the court, he commanded them to elect another, excluding only that perſon ; who, being in favour with Innocent, very ſoon preſented himſelf at Rome, where he was conſecrated by the pope, who ſpoke of the king as a young man whom it was neceſſary to check and inſtruct ; and added, that the excluſion of any individual

was

France laid under an interdict.

was deſtroying the freedom of elections. Louis forbid the archbiſhop to be received; upon which, the pope and the prelate immediately laid the kingdom under an interdict. An unjuſt and odious ſentence; for every eccleſiaſtical function immediately ceaſed, every thing inſpired the minds of the people with fear, and led to fanaticiſm; and nothing was better calculated to make a ſuperſtitious people riſe in rebellion againſt their maſter.

Theobald, count of Champagne, turbulent and rebellious.

Theobald, count of Champagne, a turbulent hypocrite, guided by his ambition, united with the monks, and cloſely connected with Bernard, whom he had deceived by his pretended ſanctity, declared in favour of this archbiſhop, entered into a cabal, and occaſioned a civil war. The abbot of Clairvaux was at Rome, and joined in this buſineſs, as being the friend to the count, and an adherent of the court of Rome. He wrote to the king in the following terms: *You have ſo totally deſtroyed every idea of honour and prudence, that you have loſt all ſenſe of order or good principles. . . . . Your exceſſes diſguſt me. I begin to repent of having been too indulgent to you on account of your youth, and if I have any influence, it ſhall be employed from henceforth in defence of truth.* Writing to the miniſters, Joſſelin biſhop of Soiſſons, and Suger, abbot of St. Dennis, he ſaid—*How dare you to take upon you to guide affairs of this nature? Whatever a young king does amiſs, ought to be aſcribed to the moſt able members of his council.* A ſtrong prejudice againſt the ſaint is, that theſe two miniſters were ſtateſmen of equal virtue and abilities; but e-

Letters of St. Bernard in his favour.

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ven, if they had not been men of ſuch merit, the remonſtrance was too keen ;——amidſt the diſorders of faction, zeal too eaſily runs aſtray.

The king gives orders for the maſſacre of Vitri.

But we muſt likewiſe obſerve, that the impetuous temper of Louis the Young furniſhed juſt cauſe of complaint. Having made himſelf maſter of Vitri, a town belonging to the count de Champagne, and the inhabitants, who had fled for refuge to a church, continuing to defend themſelves, in a fit of paſſion, he gave orders to ſet it on fire, and thirteen hundred people periſhed in the flames. The king being ſeized with remorſe, warmly reproached himſelf with his cruelty, and yielded to ſentiments of penitence, which, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, was the occaſion of his going to the holy war.

Arnold of Breſcia ſtirs up the people againſt the clergy.

At the very time that the pontifical authority was haughtily diſplayed in the dominions of other princes, it was weakened even in the centre of the papacy. Arnold of Breſcia, a fanatical monk, had ſtirred up the people to rebel againſt the temporal authority of the clergy, who, according to him, had no title either to lands or lordſhips, and ought to be ſatisfied with the voluntary offerings which were made to them ; he ſaid, that princes ought to ſtrip them of their property for the good of the ſtate. The pride and haughtineſs of the eccleſiaſticks, with the miſery and ſufferings of the people, gave weight to his violent declamations ; but being driven out of Italy, he went to preach in Germany. Nothing is more contagious than a fanaticiſm which flatters the in-

clinations of the multitude. The clergy became odious in their ſight, the ſpirit of liberty or licentiouſneſs revived, and the popes felt the effects.

1143. The Romans reſtore the ſenate, and rebel againſt the pope.

A violent enmity divided the inhabitants of Rome and Tivoli. Innocent II. having excommunicated the laſt, laid ſiege to their town in perſon, and carried it, but did not ſuffer it to be diſmantled by his ſoldiers. This gave the Romans an opportunity of revolting; they reſtored the ſenate, renewed the war, and Innocent died with vexation. His ſucceſſor Celeſtine II. governed only five months. After him, Lucius II. wanting to drive the ſenators out of the Capitol, was murdered with a ſhower of ſtones.

Eugenius III. takes ſhelter in France.

Eugenius III. formerly a monk of Clairvaux, and diſciple of St. Bernard, experienced the inſolence of the Romans as well as his predeceſſors. Arnold of Breſcia came to excite their preſumption by his diſcourſes, and they compelled the nobles to ſwear obedience to a patrician whom they elected. The pope, at laſt, withdrew from Rome, and having wandered for ſome time to different towns in Italy, in the year 1146, ſet out for France, the common aſylum of the popes when obliged to leave their own dominions. Bernard, who was looked upon as pope rather than Eugenius (he ſaid ſo himſelf in one of his letters) had already projected a cruſade, and ſet every thing in motion for its execution.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Beginning of the HOLY WAR, *or the* CRUSADES.

First cruſade.

WE muſt now look back a little, that we may give an account of the origin of thoſe wars, which, from the object that occaſioned them, were called *holy*, and were at firſt inſpired by religious motives, to which others leſs reſpectable were afterwards added, but, in their conſequences, proved equally fatal to the cauſe of religion and the ſtates of Europe. The firſt cruſade being mentioned in this place, will lead us naturally to the ſecond.

Project of Gregory VII. for the deliverance of Jeruſalem.

Gregory VII. laid the grand ſcheme of arming all the powers of Europe to recover Paleſtine. In one of his letters, he ſays, that he had already more than fifty thouſand men ready to march under his command; but he was prevented by his diſputes with the emperour Henry IV. Beſides the religious motive of freeing Jeruſalem from the dominion of the Turks, ſome views of ambition might have induced the court of Rome to engage in this project. It was a means of extending her authority into Aſia, of making its princes tributary, and of ſubduing the Greek church either by force or policy. An opportunity preſented, which was ſeized with avidity, and we ſhall ſee what trifling ſprings could ſet the whole human race in motion.

Peter, the hermit, inſpires the people with enthuſiaſm upon this ſubject.

A hermit of Picardy, whoſe name was Peter, a bold enthuſiaſt, at his return from Jeruſalem, where he had been on a pilgrimage, repreſented the oppreſſion of the holy city, and the cruel treatment which the Chriſtians ſuffered, in ſuch ſtriking colours, that Urban II. thought proper to ſet both kings and people in motion to recover it. This hermit, of a hideous figure, covered with rags, walking barefooted, ſpeaking as a prophet, and hearkened to as ſuch, inſpired the people every where with an enthuſiaſm ſimilar to his own. The pope held a council at Placentia, in the year 1095, to determine upon the expedition; to which thouſands of people immediately flocked. The Italians greatly approved the undertaking; but whether it proceeded from attachment to their country, weakneſs, or circumſpection, they went no farther than beſtowing empty praiſe, and thereby ſhewed themſelves more prudent than other nations.

Urban II. held a council at Placentia for that purpoſe in the year 1095.

He ſucceeded better with the council at Clermont.

At a council held the ſame year at Clermont, in Auvergne, Urban found no difficulty in engaging the French vivacity. The anathemas denounced againſt king Philip, did not prevent the people from entering into the views, or rather obeying the commands, of the Roman pontiff. He preached up war as a means of wiping away all the offences they had committed; he placed all who took up arms under the protection of the church, and promiſed, that God would give them victory, and the ſpoils of the Muſſulmen. *It is the will of God*, was echoed from every quarter. The people were

The cruſade is formed there.

anxious

anxious to receive from the hands of the pope or the biſhops, a croſs of red ſtuff which they ſewed upon their clothes; from whence the names of *cruſade* and *cruſaders* were derived to expreſs this new kind of expedition, and the troops that were employed in it. The red croſs procured a diſpenſation from all penance, but, when once taken, the wearers were obliged to ſet out under pain of excommunication.

Motives of the cruſade.

However imprudent the project, the prevailing taſte and prejudices of the age occaſioned its being adopted without examination. A pilgrimage to Jeruſalem had been long in faſhion, as an extraordinary act of piety, and an effectual means of ſalvation. They deteſted the Saracens, who were followers of the religion of Mahomet. Their enterpriſes in Europe, and their oppreſſive tyranny in Aſia, whetted religious zeal, which at that time inclined men too much to war; for to be no Chriſtian or Catholick was a ſufficient reaſon to deſerve extermination. They imagined that nothing could be more acceptable to God than the deliverance of the holy ſepulchre; and though they worſhipped Jeſus Chriſt, who was preſent on the altar, they preferred adorations paid to his footſteps, and the monuments of his myſteries in Paleſtine. (See *Diſc. de Fleury.*)

The firſt was hatred againſt the Mahometans.

The ſecond was a devout regard for the holy places of Jeruſalem.

Beſides, all other paſſions were abſorbed in their love of war; they were delighted with the thoughts of adventures, and the brave were attracted by a paſſion for acquiring glory and gaining wealth. If principalities had been conquered in Italy by a handful of Normans, what

The third was a love of arms.

The fourth a hope of conqueſts.

was

was not to be expected from the valour of an infinite number of warriours fighting under the banners of the croſs? What conqueſts to be looked for in Aſia! To mention nothing elſe, it was a very important advantage for men oppreſſed with debts, expoſed to the proſecutions of creditors, or to the inſults of their enemies, to place their perſons and property under the powerful protection of the church.

The fifth, important privileges.

Laſtly, thouſands of wicked and abandoned debauchées, to whom a long and ſevere penance had been preſcribed by the canons, found the expiation of their offences in a plenary indulgence, which was the more eaſy, as it changed into a duty what was moſt agreeable to their inclinations; going to war and making conqueſts. If they ſucceeded, their fortune ſeemed to be ſecured in this world; if they died, a crown of martyrdom was promiſed in the next. Devotion and the paſſions, prejudices, and habits, altogether concurred to produce the ſame effects. So many cauſes uniting had almoſt an inſurmountable power, and their concurrence is one of the moſt curious phenomena to be met with in hiſtory.

The ſixth, plenary indulgences.

The ſeventh, a crown of martyrdom in caſe of death.

Principal leaders of the cruſade.

Hugh, the brother of king Philip; Robert, duke of Normandy; Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lower Lorraine and Brabant; Euſtace and Baldwin, his two brothers; Raimond, count of Toulouſe, and Robert, count of Flanders, were among the number of cruſaders. Biſhops, prieſts, monks, women, and children, were all enrolled in the holy army. People ſold their property to defray the expenſe of the expedition,

People ſell their property to go upon this expedition.

without

without regarding the price, and the churches and monaſteries were made rich by being the purchaſers. The duke of Normandy mortgaged his dukedom to his younger brother Henry I. king of England, who had deprived him of that kingdom. The count de Toulouſe relinquiſhed his dominions in favour of a baſtard of the family. Godfrey ſold Bouillon to the chapter of Liege. They never doubted that the riches of Aſia would recompenſe them an hundred fold.

Above a million of cruſaders, but no king.

Cotemporary hiſtorians make the number of the firſt cruſaders to exceed ſix millions ; but the beſt authors reckon only about thirteen hundred thouſand, and not one king joined in the enterpriſe. Notwithſtanding the prodigious emigration of ſubjects, it was an advantage for the ſovereigns that their powerful vaſſals carried into other countries that martial ardour which made them ſo dangerous at home.

Army of Peter the Hermit exterminated by the way.

Peter the Hermit, with ſandals on his feet, and a thick cord girt round his middle, acting both as prophet and general, and perſuaded that God would employ miracles to ſupply all their wants, was the firſt that ſet out, at the head of fourſcore thouſand men, without either proviſions or diſcipline ; the command was ſhared with him by a poor gentleman, Walter *the needy*, who was as ignorant as Peter. This army of banditti committed dreadful outrages in paſſing through Hungary and Bulgaria, and were almoſt exterminated on the way to Conſtantinople. Godeſchal, a German prieſt, followed next, with ſuch another army.

Their

Dreadful outrages againſt the Jews.

Their zeal was ſo inveterate againſt the Jews, that a number of them, both men and women, in the deſpair to which they were driven by theſe madmen, murdered their own children: But the Hungarians likewiſe cut that army in pieces. Hitherto the cruſaders have appeared only like wild beaſts, which people are eager to deſtroy. A bad omen of the holy war!

The reception of the Hermit at Conſtantinople.

Alexis Comnenus, emperour of Conſtantinople, had applied to the Latins for ſuccours againſt the Turks, and gave the Hermit, with the wreck of his army, a very welcome reception; but he did not long continue ignorant of their diſpoſition, for the cruſaders pillaged and laid waſte the country, without even reſpecting the churches; for which reaſon he ſupplied them with ſhipping and proviſions to haſten their departure. The Chriſtians of Aſia very ſoon felt the effects of their outrages, and they were eaſily deſtroyed by the Turks.

He made an unſucceſsful attempt in Aſia.

Peter returned to Conſtantinople to wait the heroes of the cruſade, and was ſupported in his misfortunes by enthuſiaſm: The crimes of his fanatical followers did not leſſen the merit of the expedition in his eyes.

Arrival of the French nobility, and Bohemond, ſon of Robert Guiſcard.

The French nobles at laſt arrived with their troops, and were joined by Bohemond, ſon of Robert Guiſcard, who hoped to be the founder of ſome kingdom in Aſia, as his father and uncles had been in Europe. Alexis Comnenus, againſt whom he had long continued to make war, equally dreaded his valour and ambition.

They inſpire the emperour

The depredations of the firſt cruſaders, with the power and arrogance of the reſt, inſpired the

the emperour with a dread of their intentions. His daughter Anna Comnena ſays, that a French lord had the impudence to ſit down by the emperour upon his throne, and carried his inſolence ſo far as to ſay—*This Greek is an audacious clown to preſume to ſit in our preſence.* They very ſoon began to diſpute and quarrel, and Adhemar, biſhop of Puy, who was legate and general of the cruſade, propoſed to lay ſiege to Conſtantinople; but they were ſenſible that it would be diſgraceful for them to begin the cruſade by attacking Chriſtians. Alexis at laſt got rid of theſe dangerous gueſts, by providing them with whatever was neceſſary for their paſſage into Aſia, after having made them promiſe to do him homage for whatever conqueſts they ſhould gain from the Turks. The Greeks extol his prudence, and the Latins charge him with perfidy. The queſtion is, Was his diſtruſt well or ill founded? We ſhall ſee afterwards whether Conſtantinople was threatened by the cruſaders.

Alexis Comnenus with a dread of them.

He therefore gets rid of them.

The Mahometan empire had been greatly weakened by the diviſions which prevailed among the Turks. A ſultan, or ſoudan, reigned at Nice in Bythinia, another in Perſia, a third at Antioch, and a fourth at Damaſcus; ſo that Aſia, as well as Europe, contained a number of petty ſtates, included in greater kingdoms, which were founded by uſurpation, and fell a prey to diſſenſions. More than ſix hundred thouſand combatants, commanded by warlike princes, ſet out to attack theſe enemies of Chriſtianity. Such an army might have gained immenſe

The Turks by their diviſions might have been conquered.

immenſe conqueſts, but a unity among the leaders, prudence, and diſcipline, which alone can ſecure victory, were wanting.

Nice and Edeſſa taken.

However, in the year 1097, Nice was taken, and the army of the Sultan Solyman twice defeated. Baldwin, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, penetrated as far as Meſopotamia, took the city of Edeſſa, and founded a principality.

Siege of Antioch.

They laid ſiege to Antioch; and Bohemond, the moſt artful politician of the cruſaders, inſiſted on that place being ceded to him, but was oppoſed by the count de Toulouſe. Their

Miſunderſtanding among the cruſaders.

ſucceſs was retarded by the miſunderſtanding among the chiefs, and the troops were conſumed by famine and diſeaſes. Their zeal began to cool, and numbers quitted the army to return to Europe; but Bohemond at laſt obtained his requeſt, and after a long ſiege Antioch ſurrendered.

The troops animated by the marvellous.

The Chriſtians in their turn were beſieged there, by an army of two hundred thouſand men, and the marvellous was employed to revive their drooping courage. A prieſt declared that he had been favoured with a revelation of the place where the lance which pierced the ſide of Jeſus Chriſt was buried. He was followed, the earth was dug, the head of a lance was found, and the people exclaimed, A miracle! A miracle! An engagement was immediately reſolved upon; the holy lance, carried by the legate, inſpired the troops with heroick valour, and the infidels were defeated.

Death of the legate Adhemar.

Soon after this died the legate Adhemar du Puy, a valiant leader, who alone was capable of

of reſtraining the licentiouſneſs of the clergy, which was daily increaſing. The generals wrote to the pope, inviting him to come and aſſume the command.—"*We have defeated the Turks and* "*Pagans*, ſaid they, *do you come and conquer the* "*hereticks, Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, and Ja-* "*cobites; you ſhall have the glory of uniting the* "*whole world under your authority.*" This ſhews that the cruſaders would ſooner or later have turned their arms againſt the Greeks. Urban II. had not the courage of Gregory VII. and only ſent Daimbert, archbiſhop of Piſa, in quality of legate; a man who was exceedingly zealous for the intereſt of the court of Rome, and above all things to extend its authority over the Eaſt.

The pope invited to come and command in perſon.

The cruſaders having made themſelves maſters of Antioch, advanced towards Jeruſalem. According to the generality of hiſtorians, their army was reduced to twenty thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, and what ſeems incredible, the garriſon conſiſted of forty thouſand; yet the city was taken by aſſault at the end of five weeks. The conquerors ſuffered none to eſcape the ſlaughter; yet when they were glutted with blood, they immediately became devout pilgrims, and in religious tranſports ran barefoot to viſit the holy ſepulchre. This contraſt of barbarity and piety gives a lively picture of the manners of the age, and accounts for the events which were the conſequence.

1099. The taking of Jeruſalem.

Notwithſtanding every effort of the ſeditious clergy to get a patriarch choſen, Godfrey was elected king or duke of Jeruſalem. The legate

Godfrey of Bouillon choſen king or duke of Jeruſalem.

legate being afterwards clothed with the dignity of patriarch, maintained that Godfrey had given the conqueſt to God, and of courſe it belonged to the church. That pious, credulous prince yielded almoſt every thing to him, except only one or two places, and declared that, if he died without poſterity, the patriarch ſhould be his ſucceſſor. An old Engliſh hiſtorian calls this conqueſt *a kingdom exceſſively ſmall, and almoſt a diſgrace to the name*. Such was the fruit of the firſt cruſade.

but yields almoſt every thing to the legate.

Their ſucceſs was greatly exaggerated in Europe, and Hugh, brother of the king of France, collecting new troops, went to meet his fate in the Eaſt. The Venetians aſſiſted Bertrand, ſon of the count of Toulouſe, to found the ſmall principality of Tripoli in Syria, of which they demanded a part. Venice had, at firſt, refuſed to aſſiſt the cruſaders with neceſſaries. "*They enriched themſelves more than ever,*" ſays M. de Voltaire, "*by their commerce with the Mahometans, and were afraid of being deprived of the privileges which they enjoyed among them. The Genoeſe, Piſans, and Greeks, fitted out veſſels loaded with proviſions, which they ſold to the cruſaders on the coaſts of Aſia Minor. The wealth of the Genoeſe increaſed, and the world was ſoon ſurpriſed to ſee Genoa erected into a powerful ſtate.*" In this manner did the Venetians delay, till they found the advantage they could derive by engaging in the cruſades. In theſe commercial towns, intereſt guided every thing, and they alone profited by that madneſs with which all Europe was agitated.

The Venetians engage in the cruſade when they expect to profit by it.

Venice, Genoa, and Piſa, profit greatly.

This

This is the period in which the foundation of a flouriſhing commerce was laid, which was one day to change the manners and political ſtate of Europe.

Three monaſtick and military orders, the Hoſpitallers, the Templars, and Teutonick knights, were inſtituted at Jeruſalem, to protect the pilgrims from the attacks of the Turks. This inſtitution was worthy of an age in which the ſacred was ſo confounded with the profane, that it was thought the virtues of the monk might be united with the qualities of the ſoldier. The new orders, loaded with wealth and particular privileges, in a ſhort time became greedy, licentious, and inſolent warriors, enemies of one another, and by their mutual hatred weakened the cauſe of Chriſtianity.

Three military and monaſtick orders inſtituted at Jeruſalem.

What happened before in Europe was likewiſe ſeen in Aſia: Every lord wanted to erect a ſovereign power; principalities were ſubdivided into fiefs; diſcord prevailed, and the Turks would ſoon have deſtroyed them, if they had not likewiſe been divided among themſelves. The new princes having refuſed to do homage, as they had promiſed, to the emperour Alexis, it produced another war. The proceedings of the tranſplanted Chriſtians were neither guided by religion nor policy, and their eſtabliſhment threatened their total deſtruction.

The Chriſtians in Aſia weakened by diſcord.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Second CRUSADE *preached up by St.* BERNARD.

1146. The second crusade proposed in the assembly of Vezelai.

THE Turks had already taken Edessa, and there was great reason to be apprehensive for the fate of Jerusalem, when Eugenius III. fifty years after the beginning of the crusades, received deputies from the East, who came to solicit a second. Louis the Young, who reproached himself for the massacre of Vitri, by the advice of St. Bernard, zealously embraced this method of expiating his offence. At an assembly held at Vezelai, in Burgundy, the king and the abbot, mounted upon a scaffold, exhorted the people to join in carrying on the holy war against the *worshippers of idols*; for ignorant prejudice had represented the Mussulmen as idolaters, though they were mortal enemies of idolatry. Louis and his queen Eleanora took upon them the cross; and the number of crosses which had been prepared being insufficient for the people that applied, Bernard made some of a part of his robe, and gave leave to every one to make for himself. Another assembly appointed him general of the crusade; but, too artful to accept the employment, he contented himself with preaching up its advantages, and when he had set the whole kingdom in a flame, hastened to display his zeal in Germany.

St. Bernard gives the cross to Louis the Young, and to Eleanora his queen.

He refuses the command of the army.

He

He is repreſented by hiſtorians as running from town to town, and though ignorant of the language of the country, yet making the people follow him, and performing numberleſs miracles, which were more perſuaſive than his diſcourſe. The *miracle of miracles*, according to him, was the prevailing with Conrad III. the firſt emperour of the houſe of Suabia, who was little inclined to take the croſs. Bernard, in a private converſation, inſiſted upon the advantages of a penance *ſo light, ſo ſhort, and ſo glorious*, without obtaining any other anſwer, than that it ſhould be deliberated in council, and the following day he ſhould be informed of the reſolution. Impatient to carry his point, he preached that ſame day with ſo much fervour, that the emperour immediately took the croſs. The holy monk every where gained an influence, of which there had been no parallel; but the ſucceſs did not keep pace with his hopes and wiſhes.

He prevails with the emperour Conrad III. to go to the holy war.

It is ſaid, that each of the two armies had ſeventy thouſand *men at arms*; theſe conſiſted of the nobility, who were heavy armed, and followed by a much more numerous body of light cavalry; a man at arms always had a number of horſes in his train. The infantry was not numbered. Such ſtrong armies united, acting in concert, and directed with prudence, might undoubtedly have done great things, but they ſhamefully periſhed. The princes ſeemed to be hurried to deſtruction by a kind of infatuation.

Great ſtrength of the two armies.

The

1147. Manuel Comnenus accuſed of having betrayed the people of the Weſt.

The emperour Conrad was the firſt that ſet out: He was the brother in law of Manuel Comnenus, at that time reigning in Conſtantinople; but, however, the Greeks, either from the cruſaders committing the ſame outrages, or dreading in future from what had formerly happened, were equally apprehenſive as in the time of Alexis. When Louis the Young arrived, a French biſhop propoſed, that they ſhould attack Conſtantinople; and certainly, the Latins had almoſt as great an averſion to the Greek ſchiſmaticks, as the Mahometans, whom they believed to be idolaters. If Manuel Comnenus betrayed them, as has been alleged; if he gave treacherous guides, and contributed to their deſtruction; that prince, who in other reſpects was reckoned generous and valiant, and is celebrated for his victories, could not be ſuſpected of hating them without ſome reaſon.

Was he to blame in being afraid of them?

Conrad and Louis defeated by the Turks one after the other.

Conrad, while in Aſia Minor, imprudently entangled himſelf in rocky grounds, where the Sultan of Iconium, who was a better general, cut his army in pieces; upon which he fled to Antioch, made the pilgrimage of Jeruſalem, and returned to Europe with only a handful of men. Louis had the ſame ſucceſs in his expedition: He was defeated by the Turks, fled to Antioch, made a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, and brought nothing back to France, but the advantage of having viſited the holy ſepulchre, and the mortification of believing, that he had been diſhonoured by his wife who accompanied him.

They

1149. They return without having gained any honour.

They both returned without having acquired any honour, and almoſt without a train, and, what was worſe, they did not profit by their misfortunes. They had laid ſiege to Damaſcus in the year 1148, but were betrayed by the Chriſtians of Paleſtine, who ſaved the town. If the Chriſtians deteſted one another; if they became mutual enemies; if the devotion of the cruſaders was accompanied with the commiſſion of every crime, can we be ſurpriſed at the inevitable evils which befel them? The abbot Suger, the prudent miniſter of France, had foreſeen the fatal effects of this enterpriſe, and oppoſed it. St. Bernard might have foreſeen them, as they were connected with the manners of the age, and had been foretold by experience. He would have ſaved the ſpilling of much blood, and prevented his being expoſed to the ſevereſt reproaches: He attempted to make his excuſe, by laying the blame upon the ſins of the cruſaders; but ſuch apologies might have been made before the event.

The abbot Suger judged better of this enterpriſe than St. Bernard.

Prudent adminiſtration of Suger.

At the time that France was loſing ſo many of her warriors in a fruitleſs expedition, the country enjoyed peace under the prudent government of Suger. Pious without enthuſiaſm, he did not judge from deceitful appearances, but from the real good or hurt that ought to be expected; and though he could not be totally free from prejudices, yet he had none but what yielded to reaſon. Bernard, whoſe lively and turbulent zeal acted ſometimes upon ill founded ſuſpicions, as in his conteſts with Abelard, with Gilbert de la Porrée biſhop of Poitiers, and with

the venerable Peter, abbot of Clugny, likewiſe attacked Suger, at a time when the manners of that abbot ſeemed to him unſuitable to his character. Suger anſwered him by reforming his monaſtery of St. Denis, and by ſetting an example of regularity. Having been the miniſter of Louis the Fat, and afterwards of Louis the Young; he always conducted national affairs like an able ſtateſman, while the abbot of Clairvaux managed them like a myſtical or prejudiced monk. While we admire the virtues of the ſaint, let us not be afraid to ſay, that his prejudices were ſometimes dangerous out of the cloiſter.

CHAP. IX.

HENRY PLANTAGENET, *King of* ENGLAND, *very Powerful.*——*His* QUARRELS *with* THOMAS BECKET.

1152. Imprudent divorce of Louis the Young from Eleanora of Guienne.

AFTER the death of Suger, Louis executed a project which had been obſtructed by the prudent counſels of that great miniſter. Queen Eleanora, heireſs of Guienne and Poitou, was ſuſpected of having an unlawful commerce with the prince of Antioch and a young Turk: She could not endure her huſband, who, ſhe ſaid, was more a monk than a king; but he hated his wife ſtill more, who, by her gallantries, had deſtroyed his peace of mind, and therefore divorced her upon the uſual pretence of

of kindred. She very ſoon was married to Henry Plantagenet, duke of Normandy, who inherited Anjou and Maine from his father, and to whom ſhe brought two conſiderable provinces, of which the French crown was deprived by this divorce, and the fortune of Henry was completed by the acquiſition of England. Let us examine by what means he ſucceeded.

She marries Henry Plantagenet, who was already powerful.

His mother Matilda, widow of the emperour Henry V. and afterwards married to the count of Anjou, was the only daughter and heireſs of Henry I. who died in the year 1135. Stephen, count of Boulogne, grandſon, by the mother, of William the Conqueror, got himſelf crowned king of England; he at firſt gained the nobility by dangerous conceſſions, but he provoked the clergy by attempting to take poſſeſſion of their ſtrong holds; they therefore declared in favour of Matilda, crowned, and afterwards betrayed her. Young Henry, whom ſhe had already made duke of Normandy, maintained his claim with ſuch power and courage, that Stephen, in the year 1153, was obliged to ſet aſide his own ſon, and declare him his ſucceſſor. Stephen died the following year, and the houſe of Plantagenet taking poſſeſſion of the throne, formed a power the more conſiderable, as, to extenſive territories, Henry II. added the greateſt abilities. Poſſeſſed of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Poitu, Saintonge, Guienne, Perigord, Angoumois, Limouſin, and afterwards Bretagne, by the marriage of one of his ſons with the heireſs of that dutchy, he had ſtrength ſufficient

Stephen king of England is obliged to declare him his ſucceſſor.

Henry II. ſucceeds Stephen.

cient to make the king of France his weak lord paramount tremble.

His wife government.

England already enjoyed the advantages of a good government, the laws were in vigour, and crimes reſtrained. Thoſe caſtles in which a crowd of petty tyrants had eſtabliſhed themſelves during the weak government of Stephen, were no longer to be ſeen, nor thoſe mercenary troops which he had employed to reduce them, and which only ſerved to multiply robberies. Another abuſe which Henry II. wanted to reform, was the exceſſive power of the clergy, the impunity which they ſecured to themſelves by privileges contrary to the civil laws, and the enormous juriſdiction which they arrogated in every buſineſs, by connecting it with the canons, and making it a caſe of conſcience. This attempt ruined his peace, tarniſhed his glory, and brought misfortunes upon him, under which any other prince would have ſunk.

He wants to curb the exceſſive power of the clergy.

1162. With this view he gives the ſee of Canterbury to Thomas Becket.

He raſhly flattered himſelf with the hope of levelling every obſtruction by means of Thomas Becket his chancellor, a clergyman of great abilities and reſolution, who had hitherto been a zealous, ſplendid, voluptuous, warlike, and crafty courtier, poſſeſſed of the art of conforming to all the views of his maſter. The king raiſed him to the See of Canterbury, the greateſt employment in the kingdom, where the privileges of primate and chief of the peers gave him a power which was frequently dangerous, becauſe, at that time, it was exceſſive. Becket, when he changed his condition, ſuddenly altered

Becket changes his conduct.

his

his conduct; he became a rigid biſhop, retired from the court, and dedicating his life to penitence and the exerciſe of good works, acquired the reputation of a ſaint, and by that means became the object of the people's adoration. During the time he ſtudied at Boulogne, he had imbibed the maxims of Italy with regard to the powers of the church; and his reformation preſaged a purpoſe of maintaining them.

He quarrels with the king about the immunities of the clergy.

The chief cauſe of their quarrels ſufficiently proves, that the king was not wrong in the grounds of the diſpute. Henry wanted to cauſe a prieſt who was guilty of a murder to be tried by the ordinary tribunals, and to ſuffer death; but this was oppoſed by Becket, who challenged the clerical immunities, and inſiſted, that none but canonical puniſhments could be inflicted. This abuſe had every where prevailed for a long time; to belong to the church was ſufficient to be ſheltered from the ſeverity of the laws; and crimes which were the more heinous, as they ſtained thoſe hands which had been dedicated to the ſervice of religion, were expiated by ſlight penances.

1164. Articles of Clarendon, to which he ſubmits as well as the others.

In an aſſembly of biſhops and lords, which was held at that time in Clarendon, the king cauſed ſeveral articles to be received as being the ancient cuſtoms of England; among the reſt—"*That criminal eccleſiaſticks ſhould be tried* "*by civil tribunals; that no perſon who was an* "*immediate vaſſal of the crown could be excom-*"*municated without the conſent of the king; that* "*no perſon could appeal to the pope, or leave the* "*kingdom without permiſſion.*" The primate, led

led by the general example, likewiſe promiſed to obſerve theſe articles *without reſerve* : But the opinion of pope Alexander III. made him ſoon change his ſyſtem, or rather confirmed him in his original ſentiments.

Alexander III. takes refuge in France : He condemns theſe articles.

That pontiff being driven out of Rome in the year 1159 by Victor the antipope, took ſhelter in France, according to cuſtom. Louis the Young, and Henry II. went to meet him, and having diſmounted to receive him, one on each ſide held the reins of his horſe. If the popes inſiſted, that kings ſhould ſerve them as equerries, with how much more reaſon might they repeal laws which they thought hurtful to the intereſts of the church ! Alexander condemned the articles of Clarendon : Becket did penance for having ſubſcribed them, and interdicted himſelf from the duties of his office, till he received abſolution from the pope. Henry, provoked by this conduct, could no longer reſtrain his reſentment, but proſecuted the primate, ſtripped him of his property, and ſentenced him to baniſhment. Becket retired to France, where he was ſure of protection from a bigotted king, who was intereſted in fomenting troubles in England, and from a haughty pope, whoſe cauſe he defended with as much zeal as if it had been his own. There he excommunicated Henry's miniſters, and, in general, all who were ſupporters of thoſe famous articles.

Becket likewiſe condemns them, and excommunicates Henry's miniſters.

There were almoſt perpetual quarrels between the two kings. The concluſion of a treaty between

tween them, furniſhed an opportunity of negotiating with an intention to accommodate this diſpute. Henry ſaid to the king of France—*Let Becket only ſhew the ſame ſubmiſſion to me which the moſt holy of his predeceſſors had for the leaſt of mine, and I ſhall be ſatisfied.* The primate obſtinately refuſed to make the leaſt conceſſion without the clauſe, *ſaving the honour of God and the liberties of the church.* All the conferences were fruitleſs.

Louis the Young fruitleſsly attempts to accommodate this diſpute.

Some time after, tranquillity was apparently reſtored, as they agreed that the queſtion ſhould not be again agitated; but the condeſcenſion of the prince did not ſoften the haughty temper of the prelate. Becket no ſooner returned to England, than he excommunicated the archbiſhop of York, for having, in his abſence, conſecrated the eldeſt ſon of Henry, whom the king had aſſociated with him on the throne. His violent proceedings drew from the king, in a fit of paſſion, that fatal expreſſion which he had ſo much reaſon to repent—*Will none of my ſubjects revenge me of this ungrateful prieſt, that diſtracts my whole kingdom?* He did not foreſee the conſequences of an expreſſion which was ſo capable of inſpiring the deſire of committing a crime, and the effect was ſpeedy and terrible;—four gentlemen aſſaſſinated Becket in his church.

1170. An ineffectual accommodation.

Murder of the primate.

If Henry had not been ſo prudent as to appeaſe the pope by ſubmitting to his ſentence; if fanaticiſm had been ſet in commotion by excommunications, the crown would have been in great danger, eſpecially as Thomas of Canterbury

Henry prudently prevents the ſtorm which the murder might have occaſioned.

terbury was honoured as a martyr, and worker of miracles, which brought numbers of the nobility and people to his tomb. Henry ſwore, that he was innocent of the murder; promiſed, that he would not cauſe the *new* cuſtoms, which were contrary to the immunities of the church, to be obſerved; that he would not hinder appeals to the Holy See, and would only require ſufficient ſecurities from people who left the kingdom. To efface every ſiniſter impreſſion, he went in the year 1174, barefoot, to the tomb of the ſaint, and was beaten with rods by every monk in the abbey. It was much that he could extricate himſelf out of his difficulties upon theſe conditions; but in the end, he maintained the famous articles as being the *ancient* cuſtoms of the kingdom; he could render the appeals almoſt impoſſible by the ſureties which he required; and by thus eſcaping the anger of the pope, diſpelled the ſtill more dangerous prejudices of his ſubjects.

His penance at the tomb of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Rebellion of his children notwithſtanding his increaſe of power.

In virtue of a bull of Adrian IV. the predeceſſor of Alexander III. that able and ambitious prince had conquered Ireland, and compelled William king of Scotland to acknowledge himſelf his vaſſal: But though he was a kind father, he could not keep his three ungrateful ſons, who were always ready to rebel againſt him, within the bounds of their duty. Louis the Young declared for them in the year 1173, when Henry raiſed an army of banditti, called *Brabancons*, *Routiers*, or *Cotteraux*, who ſold their ſervices to whoever would pay them, and compelled the three princes to ſubmit.

After

After the death of Louis, being favoured by the policy of Philip Auguſtus, the new king of France, they revolted again. Henry II. a prey to vexation, died in the year 1189, after having conſented to a humiliating treaty exacted by the king of France, in favour of the rebel Richard, his eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor.

His death in 1189.

Europe was again ſet in motion by a new project of a cruſade. We ſhall ſee Philip Auguſtus, Richard, and the emperour Frederick Barbaroſſa, hurried into this expedition. The laſt had been engaged in great diſputes in Italy, of which we muſt give an account.

Project of a new cruſade.

CHAP. X.

Reign of the Emperour FREDERICK BARBAROSSA. THIRD CRUSADE, *in which he dies.*—PHILIP AUGUSTUS.—RICHARD.—HENRY VI. *Emperour.*

FREDERICK I. ſurnamed Barbaroſſa, a prince of an elevated and intrepid genius, in the year 1152, was choſen to ſucceed his uncle Conrad III. who intended that he ſhould be emperour, as he had but one ſon, who was too young to maintain himſelf in the government. The people of Italy, but more particularly the inhabitants of Milan, aimed at independence, and the name of liberty ſtirred up an univerſal ſpirit of rebellion in the country; but Frederick having arrived in the year 1154, puniſhed the rebellious

Frederick Barbaroſſa emperour.

He reduced Italy to obedience.

rebellious cities, cauſed himſelf to be crowned at Pavia and Monza, and then ſet out for Rome, where the ſpirit of ſedition principally prevailed. The Romans ſent a deputation to him, inſolently demanding that he would reſtore the ancient government, deliver them from that of the popes, and give them fifty thouſand livres to be crowned emperour; but he ſpiritedly replied, that he was their ſovereign, it was his buſineſs to preſcribe laws, and their duty to obey.

The Romans more ſeditious than the reſt. Their inſolence.

Pope Adrian IV. the ſon of a poor Engliſh eccleſiaſtick, went to meet Frederick at his camp, near Sutri, where an extraordinary diſpute aroſe. Some emperours having held the bridles and ſtirrups of the popes, Adrian alleged, that this ceremony was a duty, and refuſed the kiſs of peace to the prince, becauſe he would not ſubmit to this humiliation. They diſputed with great keenneſs; but at laſt Frederick conſented to do the office of equerry, and the pope performed the ceremony of his coronation at Rome, without conſulting the Romans; who immediately collecting in numbers, took up arms, and began a ſedition, which was not quelled before a great deal of blood was ſpilt: Every thing foreboded troubles and rebellions in Italy.

Adrian IV. inſiſts that Frederick ſhall hold his ſtirrup.

The emperour, by his marriage with Beatrix, heireſs of Renaud, count of Burgundy, recovered poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Arles, from which large portions had been diſmembered ſince the reign of Henry V. This increaſe of power did not prevent Adrian from iſſuing orders to him, as being lord paramount, for he

He alleged, that he had given the empire as a fief.

ſaid

ſaid, that he had conferred the empire as a *benefice*. The common meaning of this word was a fief, and it is not to be doubted, that the pope applied it in that ſenſe. His legate openly ſaid at Beſançon—*Of whom does the emperour hold the empire, if it is not of our lord the pope?* A count palatine drew his ſword againſt the raſh legate, but the emperour appeaſed the tumult. He acted with ſo much vigour, and was ſo ſteadily ſupported by the ſtates of Germany, that in 1158, Adrian declared, that a *benefice*, according to his idea, meant a *benefit*, and not a *fief*. He promiſed to efface the picture of the conſecration of Lothaire II. which, by the inſcription, alleged that he was vaſſal of the pope *(Poſt homo fit papæ.)*

But is obliged to explain himſelf in another ſenſe.

We may judge whether the pretenſions of Gregory VII. ſtill ſubſiſted, by the manner in which Adrian expreſſed himſelf when he gave Ireland, if we may uſe the term, to Henry II. *It is not to be queſtioned*, according to him, *that Ireland and all the iſlands that have received the faith, belong to the Holy See:* And he demanded Peter pence for this conqueſt.

Pretenſions of the pope upon Ireland and all iſlands.

However, the ſyſtem of univerſal monarchy which had been conceived by the popes, and maintained by the Italian canoniſts, was not more abſurd than that which was invented by the civilians of Boulogne, and which was adopted by Frederick Barbaroſſa. Theſe doctors, judging of every thing from the code of Juſtinian, as the canoniſts did from the forged decretals, not only laid it down as a principle, *that the will of the emperour had the force of a law*, but likewiſe

On the other hand, the lawyers of Boulogne ſuppoſed the emperour ſovereign of the world.

likewiſe gave him the empire of the whole world. Bartolus afterwards taxed the contrary opinion with hereſy, in the ſame manner as the inveſtitures had been. Theſe are two important leſſons to teach men to diſtruſt official opinions, eſpecially when there is room to ſuſpect them of intereſt and partiality. What chimeras againſt the rights of ſociety have been without eminent defenders? In what ſituation muſt we have been at this day, if we had always been debarred from reaſoning?

The Roman law begun to be taught.

Let us obſerve, by the bye, that Juſtinian's *pandects* had been diſcovered at Amalfi about the beginning of the twelfth century, and Boulogne became famous for the ſtudy of the Roman law.

Revolt of the Lombards. Milan razed and rebuilt.

The emperour *of the whole world* always found rebels in Lombardy. In the year 1162, having taken and razed Milan, he cauſed it to be ploughed up and ſown with ſalt. Breſcia and Placentia were diſmantled; but the more theſe people, who were jealous of their liberty, were oppreſſed with taxes and grievances, the more impatient were they to ſhake off the galling yoke. The people of Milan rebuilt their walls, and, to inſult the emperour, built the city of Alexandria * in honour of Alexander III. to whom Frederick oppoſed antipopes, and who avenged himſelf by excommunicating him, and depoſing him by his bulls. Venice, which was devoted to the holy father, beſides ſpiritual favours

Alexander III. gives the ſovereignty of the Adriatick ſea to Venice.

* It was called in deriſion Alexandria *of ſtraw*, becauſe a great number of the houſes were covered with ſtraw for want of time and materials.

favours received from him the ſovereignty of the Adriatick ſea, for nothing could prevent his giving a ſea as well as a kingdom. The annual ceremony of the Doge's wedding the Adriatick was ſaid to be inſtituted at this period.

League of Lombardy.

Frequent rebellions in Germany favoured the attempts of the Italians. The league of Lombardy in 1168, comprehended Milan, Mantua, Breſcia, Bergamo, Novara, Vercelli, Cremona, Aſti, Como, Lodi, Bologna, Ferrara, Tortona, Modena, Reggio, Parma, Placentia, and Alexandria. Verona had a particular league. Some towns detached themſelves, others joined in league according to contingencies, and Frederick came for the fourth time to reduce them; but being defeated near Como, was obliged to agree to a truce with the Lombards for ſix years, to abandon the antipope Calixtus III. and to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the counteſs Matilda to the Holy See. The treaty was concluded at Venice in the year 1177, where the emperour kiſſed the pope's foot, held his ſtirrup, and received abſolution from him.

Frederick defeated, ſigns a truce.

William I. king of Sicily, ally of the pope,

William I. king of Sicily, according to the cuſtom of the Norman princes, was in alliance with the pope againſt the ſovereign of Germany. He was comprehended in the treaty for a truce of ten years, though he had formerly been at war with Adrian IV. on account of his own dominions, when he obliged that pontiff to give him the inveſtiture of La Puglia and Calabria, and likewiſe to confirm the famous appointment of the kings of Sicily to be legates of the pope in their own dominions, as granted by Urban II.

obliged him to confirm to him the office of legate of Sicily.

Frederick

What the court of Rome exacted from Frederick I.

Frederick ſtill had diſputes with two popes, Lucius III. and Urban III. who not only refuſed their conſent to the conſecration of his ſon, but inſiſted on his reſtoring the duke of Saxony and Bavaria, who was juſtly puniſhed for his rebellion; that he ſhould diſpenſe with the clergy from ſerving feodal offices; that he ſhould renounce the right of mortmain; and that all impropriations of tythes ſhould be reſtored to the church, as was ordered by the council of the Lateran in the year 1179. (It was that council which determined, that the votes of two thirds of the cardinals ſhould be ſufficient to decide the election of the pope.) The diſpute was growing warm, when diſagreeable tidings from the Eaſt occaſioned the third cruſade. This diverted the preſent quarrel, but was a ſource of other misfortunes.

The quarrel is ſuſpended.

Diſorders among the Chriſtians in Aſia.

The Chriſtians who were ſettled in Aſia had run into all kinds of diſorders. Having become enemies to one another, from intereſt, from their ſavage diſpoſitions, national antipathies, the nature of the feodal government, and unbridled licentiouſneſs, they made themſelves execrable in the eyes of the Muſſulmen by their cruelties and robberies, to which they were not aſhamed to add perjury, from a perſuaſion, that oaths made to infidels were not binding; and this infamous conduct was too much authorized by the clergy. The military monks themſelves were in general become as barbarous and corrupted as the reſt. The meritorious zeal for religion, which ſhould have rendered

They were guilty of robberies and perjury.

the

the cruſaders ſacred, had ſcarcely produced any thing but crimes and misfortunes.

Noradin and Saladine, great princes among the Muſſulmen.

Mahometiſm, in the mean time, was ſupported by great princes, whoſe virtues have been celebrated in hiſtory. Noradin, the ſultan of Aleppo, who died in 1173, was a model of humanity, juſtice, prudence, and courage. Saladine, of Perſian origin, who was attached to his ſervice, after having gratified his ambition, a paſſion which is always committing acts of injuſtice, ſurpaſſed him in generoſity. The calif of Egypt being dead, that general ſeized the throne, cauſed the calif of Bagdad to be acknowledged as the true pontiff, and thereby putting a ſtop to a ſchiſm of long continuance, eſtabliſhed the ſovereign authority, which had been greatly diſturbed by religious diſputes. After the death of Noradin, Saladine rapidly extended his conqueſts, making himſelf maſter of Syria, Arabia, Meſopotamia, and Perſia, and very ſoon threatened Jeruſalem, which was in a more wretched ſituation after the cruſades than it had been before.

Saladine makes himſelf very formidable.

1187. He defeats Guy of Luſignan.

Guy of Luſignan, king of that city, but whoſe title was diſputed, collected about fifty thouſand men, and marched againſt the Sultan, who had laid ſiege to Tiberias, but was defeated in the year 1187, without making almoſt any reſiſtance, when he fell into the hands of the conqueror, who behaved to him with the greateſt generoſity. Saladine, however, ſtruck off the head of Renald of Chatillon, with a blow of his ſabre, for having been frequently guilty of treachery to the Mahometans. Jeruſalem having

He takes Jeruſalem, and ſignalizes his generoſity.

having yielded at diſcretion, he not only declined to imitate the cruelties committed formerly by the Chriſtians when it was taken by them, but likewiſe diſmiſſed a great number of the priſoners without ranſom; and after having made Guy de Luſignan ſwear never to take up arms againſt him, gave him his liberty; but with permiſſion of the biſhops, that oath was violated.

Third cruſade.

The taking of Jeruſalem, and a new cruſade for delivering the holy city, were very ſoon the ſole ſubjects of converſation through all Europe; Gregory VIII. and his ſucceſſor Clement III. revived the enthuſiaſm of the people. Henry II. king of England, now advanced in years, and Philip Auguſtus, king of France, forgot their quarrels to go to the holy war, and impoſed a tax called the *Saladine tythe*, upon all who refuſed to be enrolled for the cruſade, which was the firſt inſtance of a general contribution; but the clergy, though it was a religious war, alleged, that they were exempted. Frederick Barbaroſſa, led by his courage, but without being influenced by prudence, had taken the croſs, and was the firſt who ſet out, being accompanied by his ſecond ſon the duke of Suabia.

Saladine tythe the firſt general contribution.

1190. Frederick Barbaroſſa and his ſon die in Aſia.

Iſaacus Angelus, the emperour of Conſtantinople, whoſe predeceſſor Andronicus Comnenus, the murderer of Alexis Comnenus II. had ſuffered an ignominious death, looking upon the cruſaders as enemies, had formed an alliance with Saladine and the ſultan of Iconium. Frederick at firſt engaged the Greeks, forced the paſſages,

paſſages, gained two victories over the Turks, took Iconium, and penetrated into Syria, where he died in conſequence of having bathed in the Salif, the ancient Cydnus, famous for the illneſs of Alexander. Of a hundred and fifty thouſand men, of which his army was compoſed, ſcarcely eight thouſand remained, which were led by his ſon to Antioch, where Guy de Luſignan, notwithſtanding his oath, meditated an enterpriſe againſt Saladine. The Chriſtians laid ſiege to Ptolemais, at preſent Acre, and at this famous ſiege the duke of Suabia died.

1191. Philip Auguſtus, and Richard king of England, at the ſiege of Acre.

Philip Auguſtus, and Richard *Cœur de Lion* king of England, ambitious rivals, but apparently united to carry on the holy war, prudently preferred going by ſea, that they might avoid the Greeks. After quarrelling by the way, they arrived at the ſiege of Acre. The Chriſtian army conſiſted of about three hundred thouſand men; but their ſucceſs was prevented by diviſions, jealouſies, and hatred. Among other conteſts, Guy de Luſignan, and Conrad marquis of Tyre, diſputed the kingdom of Jeruſalem, as if the conqueſt had been infallible, and each of them was ſupported by a party ready to fight againſt the other. Can we be ſurpriſed, then, that Acre held out a ſiege of three years? Saladine, who had been ſometimes ſick, ſometimes engaged in chaſtiſing rebels, came to its relief; but all hope was over, and the town capitulated.

Taking of that city after a three years ſiege.

The Chriſtians, inſtead of uniting for the conqueſt of Jeruſalem, gave themſelves up more than ever to diſſenſions. Philip Auguſtus,

Diſſenſions increaſe among the cruſaders.

Philip returns to France.

jealous of Richard, and tired of the fruitleſs expedition, leaving only a few troops, embarked with the reſt of his army for France; but Richard, who was not ſo good a politician, continued the war with efforts of valour that were equally aſtoniſhing and ineffectual. After having defeated Saladine, he concluded a three year's truce with him, that he might return to Europe; and all the fruits of this grand expedition were confined to the reduction of Acre.

Truce of Richard with Saladine.

It muſt be confeſſed that the Chriſtians were Barbarians, when compared with this Muſſulman, whom they expected to cruſh. Saladine agreed to pay a ſum of money for the ranſom of the inhabitants of Acre, and at the term of the firſt payment required hoſtages for the ſafety of the priſoners, offering to give others, on his part, until the payment of the whole ſum was completed. Richard taking this mark of diſtruſt for an inſult, cauſed five thouſand priſoners to be maſſacred; and the Sultan with regret avenged himſelf upon ſome Chriſtians by way of repriſal. Notwithſtanding the frequent proofs of treachery given by his enemies, Saladine faithfully left them in poſſeſſion of the ſea-coaſt from Tyre to Joppa, as he had promiſed at ſigning the truce. By his will he bequeathed a ſum of money for charitable uſes, which the Chriſtians and Jews were entitled to ſhare equally with the Mahometans. He died in the year 1193, and his empire was torn in pieces by his children and the governours of the different provinces,

Honour of Saladine, notwithſtanding the treachery of his enemies.

provinces, as almoſt always happened after the death of conquerors.

1193. King Richard at his return made priſoner in Germany.

While a legate, who was the pope's miniſter in England, irritated the people by his deſpotick behaviour, and Philip Auguſtus was preparing to take the advantage of his rival's abſence, the unfortunate Richard having been ſhipwrecked, and croſſing Germany in the diſguiſe of a pilgrim, was taken priſoner by the Duke of Auſtria, whom he had offended at the ſiege of Acre, and who gave him up for a ſum of money to the emperour Henry VI. That prince had married the heireſs of Sicily; but Tancred, a natural ſon of the laſt king, Roger III. had ſeized that kingdom, and entered into an alliance with Richard, who of courſe was an enemy to the emperour. Henry, in concert with the king of France, was not aſhamed to keep him fifteen months in priſon, to accuſe him before the diet of the empire of an intended aſſaſſination, and to exact a hundred and fifty thouſand marks of ſilver for his ranſom. The hero of the cruſade was treated as a free booter!

Baſely treated by the emperour Henry VI.

Philip had already inſtigated John, brother of the Engliſh king, to rebel, and given him the inveſtiture of the French provinces, on condition of receiving a conſiderable part of Normandy. Richard was no ſooner ſet at liberty than he yielded to the tranſports of rage and revenge. The two kings continued at war for ſeveral years; but it conſiſted only of trivial engagements, ſieges, ſmart and bloody actions, which produced no important conſequences. The people being exhauſted, and the finances

Philip Auguſtus prevails with John, the brother of Richard, to rebel.

War between the two kings.

ſwallowed up by the cruſades, how could great enterpriſes be expected? They fought, then entered into treaties, and very ſoon took up arms again. Richard being wounded with an arrow at the ſiege of a caſtle in the Limouſine, where he expected to find a conſiderable booty, died in the year 1199. His valour proceeded from an impetuous temper which he never could moderate.

1194. Henry VI. cruelly ſeizes Sicily and La Puglia.

Henry VI. who treated him ſo baſely, employed his ranſom to conquer Sicily. The marriage of that emperour with the princeſs Conſtance, the only lawful heireſs of the Norman princes, gave him a title which he could not realize but by force of arms. After the death of Tancred, to whom the pope and the people had confirmed the ſucceſſion, he went into Italy at the head of a numerous army; reduced La Puglia and Sicily; and, as if acts of barbarity had been calculated to ſtrengthen a power which they render odious, cauſed the body of Tancred to be dug up, the eyes of his young ſon, William the Third, to be put out, and put to death or perſecuted their partiſans.

Theſe revolutions prove the advantage of the Salick law.

It was by this means that the family of Suabia got poſſeſſion of thoſe dominions, which had been gained from the Greeks and Saracens by ſome gentlemen of Normandy. "*Thus,* "ſays M. de Voltaire, *twenty provinces have* "*been under the dominion of ſovereigns whom* "*nature had placed at three hundred leagues* "*diſtance; a ſubject of perpetual diſcord, and a* "*proof of the wiſdom of the Salick law, which is* "*ſtill more beneficial to a ſmall ſtate than to a great*

great kingdom." Ought he not to have added, If a ſmall ſtate had power to ſupport itſelf againſt the claims of powerful princes, who are intereſted in the diſpute? Do they regard the welfare of the people?

It is ſaid that the emperour was puniſhed for his cruelties by his own wife, whoſe rights he had a little before ſecured, and that ſhe revenged her countrymen by giving him poiſon. He had propoſed to the Germans to unite Sicily to the imperial territories, to make all the fiefs hereditary, and to give up the right of mortmain, upon condition that the empire ſhould be declared *in the fulleſt manner ſucceſſive and hereditary* in his family. More than fifty princes and ſtates, who gave their votes at the election of the emperour, readily concurred; but ſome oppoſed it, and the pope retracted his conſent, which he had in appearance granted, becauſe, as a cotemporary author alleges, he was afraid *of prejudicing the right of the Holy See to confirm the election of the emperours.*

1197. Henry VI. poiſoned by his wife.

His attempt to make the empire hereditary.

This was the period in which the ſovereign pontiffs carried their attempts againſt crowned heads to the greateſt exceſs. Political hiſtory will now be more cloſely connected than ever with the court of Rome. The pontificate of Innocent III. and the reign of Frederick II. make an important period, in which a number of facts are collected that deſerve a particular narration: But let us firſt take a curſory view of thoſe nations which deſerve our attention, and examine whatever is remarkable in their ſituation before the thirteenth century.

The court of Rome becomes more powerful than ever.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

GERMANY *and the* NORTH.—ITALY.—SPAIN.

I.

GERMANY *and the* NORTH.

Decline of the royal authority in Germany.

UNDER the emperours of the Houſe of Franconia, the royal authority was almoſt annihilated in Germany: It had declined greatly under the Houſe of Saxony from the time that feodal government had taken deep root; that the Othos had made the clergy too rich to continue dependent; and the ſtates had enjoyed the privilege of making war or peace, forming laws, or deciding diſputes at their diets; in a word, from the time that they had ſeparately exerciſed the rights of ſovereignty: But the diſputes of Henry IV. and Henry V. with the popes completed the confuſion. On the one hand, the Normans of Italy, whom the emperours at firſt protected, with a deſign of employing them againſt the Arabs, being united with the popes from their mutual intereſt, became formidable enemies; on the other, the German princes and prelates took advantage of contingencies to increaſe their power; they extorted new conceſſions in return for their ſervices, aggrandizing and ſtrengthening themſelves by new rebellions. It was expected that, by raiſing

Diſputes with Rome contributed greatly to it, as well as the Normans and the clergy.

the

the clergy to conſiderable power, a barrier would be oppoſed to the encroachments of the nobility; but it ought to have been foreſeen, that they would ſhake off the yoke as well as the reſt. Fiefs being hereditary in families, the prelates might naturally aſk—Wherefore ſhould the nomination to benefices be left in the power of the ſovereign? Why depend upon his choice? Undoubtedly this idea occaſioned the affair of inveſtitures, which entirely deſtroyed both the right of naming to the great benefices, and confirming the election of the popes.

Power acquired by the German ſtates.

In proportion as the rights of the crown were diminiſhed, thoſe of the ſtates were increaſed. A cotemporary of Henry IV. expreſsly ſays, that all publick buſineſs ought to be managed by the council and authority of the dukes. The conſent of the ſtates became neceſſary for the conferring a dutchy, for the creation of a prince, for diſpoſing of the royal domain, and for granting a pardon to whoever had been condemned by the ſtates. The regal juriſdiction was weakened in proportion. The eccleſiaſtical princes had the power of high and low juſtice in their dominions, and the ſecular princes did not ſuffer any tribunal in theirs, but that of the emperour in perſon: In one word, the ſtates engroſſed to themſelves the entire government. The power of depoſing the emperour, which they arrogated to themſelves at the diets, ſerves to prove the weakneſs of the ſovereignty. It is ſurpriſing, that the love of the ancient Germans for independence ſhould ſubſiſt in Germany more than elſewhere?

The ſtates engroſſed the whole government.

At

A part of France ſtill belonged to the empire.

At the time the family of Suabia aſcended the throne, a part of France was comprehended in the German empire, which was bounded on that ſide by the Rhone, the Saone, the Maeſe, and the Scheld. If the emperour had no great authority in the centre of his dominions, what could he have on the borders? What could he do at ſuch a diſtance?

The authority of the prince recovers a little under the family of Suabia.

A very evident change was made by the Houſe of Suabia. From the reign of Conrad III. the Roman juriſprudence gained credit, though every thing continued to be decided by the German laws. Frederick Barbaroſſa, as we before obſerved, was ſenſible how advantageous it might be to the prince. The civilians of Bologna having adjudged the empire of the world to him, in virtue of the principles of Juſtinian, undoubtedly animated him with a deſire of aſſuming, at leaſt, the empire over his own ſubjects. He attempted to introduce into Germany thoſe laws which were ſo favourable to the prince, and added the Lombard laws, which made the vaſſals dependent on the ſovereign. He puniſhed thoſe of whom he had reaſon to complain, by diveſting them of their poſſeſſions: He diſmembered the ſtates of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, a faithleſs and rebellious vaſſal; increaſed the number of princes and of free towns, and thus added to his own power by dividing the ſtates of Germany. It muſt be confeſſed, that he acknowledged the *emperour was only the miniſter of government, and that the authority lies in the council of the princes*: But he ſo well knew how

Means employed by Frederick. 1ſt. the Roman law.

2d. creating a greater number of princes and free towns.

to

to govern the diets, that his will ſerved for a law, though he did not ſeem to command. Henry VI. followed his ſteps, and had ſufficient ſteadineſs to prohibit appeals to the court of Rome. After Frederick II. the ſon of Henry, who was perſecuted by that court, every thing ſunk back into anarchy.

Poland and Bohemia become tributary kingdoms.

The emperours beſtowed the title of king, and by this means the dutchies of Poland and Bohemia were erected into tributary kingdoms. Hungary had its independent kings, and the ferocious valour of the ancient Huns ſtill exiſted there. Ruſſia was yet in a ſtate of barbariſm, and the kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark ſcarcely deſerve more attention. Theſe nations, from whence ſo many conquerors overſpread the ſouthern countries of Europe, ſcarcely afford ſome obſcure materials for general hiſtory. The firſt code of the Swedes was given them by a king Erick. Waldemar I. king of Denmark, founded the city of Dantzick. Chriſtianity, which had been preached up a long time in the North, was very late before it took root among them, and they were kept in barbariſm by continuing in ignorance.

The northern kingdoms ſunk in barbariſm.

II.

ITALY.

Genoa and Venice become powerful from commerce,

IN Italy, more than in any country, a chaos of miſery and confuſion was occaſioned by petty factions, petty ſtates, violence and anarchy; but Genoa and Venice raiſed themſelves by

by commerce. The firſt of them took Corſica from the Arabs, and for a time paid a tribute to the pope for that conqueſt; but Venice, though not ſo ancient, yet more powerful, had freed herſelf from all vaſſalage; Iſtria, with the coaſts of Dalmatia and Raguſa, were under her dominion; ſhe had gained victories over the Greeks and Hungarians, and ſupported Adrian IV. againſt the emperour Frederick Barbaroſſa. Theſe two commercial republicks, inſtead of keeping within the bounds of prudent emulation, unhappily entered into a war with each other from motives of jealouſy. Lucca, Piſa, and Florence, likewiſe acquiring a taſte for induſtry, were on the eve of gaining their freedom, and the arts revived in Italy at a time when the profeſſion of arms was the only one that was reſpected in the reſt of Europe.

eſpecially Venice, that had gained ſome conqueſts.

Lucca, Piſa, Florence.

III.

SPAIN.

WE left Spain towards the end of the eleventh century torn in pieces by the Moors and Chriſtians, and both of them a prey to civil wars; the laſt of the two gradually founding petty kingdoms, but in want of a ſingle head to erect them into a powerful ſtate. While that country continued to be divided, its hiſtory affords only a few detached facts worthy of our attention.

Spain ſtill diſmembered.

In the time of Alphonſo VI. king of Leon and Caſtile, the Cid, a famous general, ſignalized

The Cid, in the time of Alphonſo VI. king of Caſtile.

ized himſelf by ſome actions, to which a paſſion for the marvellous has added a great many fables. Sancho king of Caſtile having been aſſaſſinated, his brother Alphonſo was ſuſpected of the guilt, and purged himſelf by oath, with his hands between thoſe of that of hero. The Cid cauſed him to repeat the oath three times, and thereby loſt his good graces. He was reſtored to favour, and ſent to beſiege Toledo; an expedition to which foreign warriors were attracted by the ſame religious zeal that carried them to the cruſades. The Moors loſt that famous city in the year 1085; and Alphonſo having made it his capital, permitted the free exerciſe of the Mahometan religion, but could not repeople it, nor maintain it in its ancient ſplendour. It contained about three hundred thouſand inhabitants in the time of the Saracens, but is now become almoſt a deſert. The Cid likewiſe made a conqueſt of Valencia in the year 1094.

He takes Toledo from the Moors in 1085.

Bernard, a monk of Clugny, became archbiſhop of Toledo, and had immenſe property beſtowed upon him by the conqueror, among which were reckoned ten cities or caſtles; but this was not the way to make a ſtate flouriſh. Urban II. who had been formerly of the ſame order with Bernard, beſtowed upon him the title of primate of Spain; a title contended for by other metropolitans. We have obſerved, in another place, how much the popes had at heart the extenſion of their temporal authority over this part of Europe.

Archbiſhoprick of Toledo.

Alphonſo

Alphonſo wants to eſtabliſh the Romiſh ſervice.

Alphonſo was very ſolicitous to eſtabliſh the Romiſh ſervice, inſtead of the ancient Gothick or Moſarabick liturgy. The matter became ſo ſerious, that a proof by duel was ordered to decide between the two liturgies, in which the Roman champion was defeated; but that did not prevent Alphonſo from perſiſting in his deſign, and bringing them to a trial by fire. The fire probably reſpected neither the one nor the other: However, the foreign ritual prevailed two years after, from its being zealouſly ſupported by the queen; but ſome churches ſtill retained the Moſarabick. The Spaniards had good ſenſe, magnanimity, probity, and courage, but prejudices had ſuch hold on them, as to obſcure and bury their virtue and abilities.

Proofs by duel and fire for that purpoſe.

Alphonſo improperly ſtyled the Great.

This Alphonſo VI. who betrayed and ſtripped his brother, who dethroned the ſon of his protector, and perſecuted his benefactor the Cid, was improperly honoured with the appellation of Great. In this manner ſucceſs ſtained with crimes has often been miſtaken for greatneſs. Alphonſo died in the year 1109. After his death, his ſon in law count Henry, the ſon of a duke of Burgundy, took poſſeſſion of a principality in Portugal, which had been newly gained from the Moors. Numbers of French came to ſettle in Spain after the conqueſt of Toledo, from their having obtained conſiderable privileges, of which there are ſtill ſome veſtiges remaining.

Frenchmen ſettled in Spain.

Alphonſo the Warlike king of Arragon, takes Saragoſſa in 1118.

Saragoſſa fell into the hands of the Chriſtians, being taken by Alphonſo the *Warlike*, king of Arragon and Navarre, in the year 1118, who

made

made it his capital, as Toledo had been made that of the kingdom of Caſtile. That prince was inceſſantly at war, both with Chriſtians and Muſſulmen. The laſt gained a complete victory over him in the year 1134, which coſt the lives of two biſhops and an infinite number of gentlemen. He died of vexation about eight days after, leaving his dominions, by an abſurd will, to the order of Templars. The will was diſregarded as it deſerved, but the choice of a ſucceſſor occaſioned a diviſion: The people of Arragon elected the brother of the laſt king, a monk who was incapable of governing, while thoſe of Navarre choſe another prince. This diviſion expoſed both kingdoms to fall a prey to the Moors. Alphonſo VIII. king of Caſtile, ſaved them by ſending immediate ſuccours; but being more anxious for his intereſt than his honour, he obliged the people of Arragon to yield Saragoſſa to him, and the king of Navarre to do him homage: He was ſo elated with ſucceſs, that he affected the title of emperour of Spain.

He bequeaths his dominions to the Templars.

Diviſion between the people of Arragon and Navarre,

of which the king of Caſtile takes advantage.

In the year 1141 the Templars claimed the crown of Arragon, in right of the will made in their favour by Alphonſo the Warlike; but by an agreement, which was confirmed by the pope and the patriarch of Jeruſalem, ſome lands and other property were yielded to them in Arragon, where they ſettled. If they had been in a ſituation to have made that abſurd will valid, they undoubtedly would have reigned in it. It is probable that the military order of Alcantara was created upon their model in the year 1158, to

Agreement with the Templars in regard to the crown of Arragon.

Military orders of Spain.

to which Alphonſo VIII. king of Leon and Caſtile, gave in fief whatever the knights could conquer from the Moors. The military order of Calatrava, which was ſubjected to the rules of the Ciſtercians, was inſtituted two years after; and that of St. James in 1161. Theſe inſtitutions ſprung from one another.

Kingdom of Portugal in 1139.

Alphonſo Henriquez, count of Portugal, received the title of king from his ſoldiers, after a battle which he gained over the Moors in the year 1139, from whom he afterwards took Liſbon. Pope Alexander III. believing that there could not be a king of Portugal without his conſent, and ſeizing the opportunity of rendering a kingdom tributary to the church, ſent him a crown in the year 1179, and put him under the protection of the Holy See, upon condition of his paying an annual tribute of two marks of gold. A conſiderable time before this, a legate had prevailed with Alphonſo to pay four ounces of gold yearly. The politicks of the court of Rome were always awake, and its ſyſtem purſued, while the princes were without any. Strange! that after Gregory VII. they could not foreſee what was to happen.

Pope Alexander III. renders it tributary to the Holy See.

Two marriages of Alphonſo IX king of Leon diſſolved by the pope.

Alphonſo IX. a king of Leon, having married his couſin German, the daughter of this new king of Portugal, a legate of Celeſtine III. came to diſſolve the marriage, to excommunicate the biſhops who had given their approbation, and to lay both kingdoms under an interdict. Popular ſuperſtition was inflamed, and natural calamities ſeemed to be proofs of divine wrath; the huſband and wife were obliged to

ſeparate,

ſeparate, though they had ſeveral children. A ſhort time after, the ſame king of Leon, who was accuſed of keeping a Jeweſs, married Berengeria of Caſtile, likewiſe a relation; upon which Innocent III. publiſhed a ſentence of excommunication, and laid him under an interdict. The king reſiſted for ſome time, but at laſt parted from his new wife, after the pope had declared their children legitimate.

However, the courts of Spain looked upon the obſtruction of marriage from kindred as a matter purely civil.

Some writers ſay that marriage, being obſtructed on account of kindred, was looked upon by the Spaniſh courts as a matter purely civil, and thought that it might be diſpenſed with by princes, eſpecially between perſons of the royal family. There is no queſtion that it was an ancient privilege of the emperours from the time of Conſtantine; it is evident that a king of Spain, in particular, could ſcarce marry any but a relation, unleſs he ſought a wife in another country: It is more than probable that a number of theſe marriages had never been objected to; but ſince the popes had turned their eyes towards Spain, inſtances of arbitrary power were to be expected on ſuch an important ſubject.

Peter II. king of Arragon went to be crowned at Rome.

Innocent III. ſet on foot a claim upon this crown.

The court of Rome knew how to turn every thing to its advantage, and princes ſeemed imprudently to bend their necks to the yoke. Peter II. king of Arragon, having married the heireſs of the countſhip of the city of Montpellier, went in the year 1204 to be crowned by Innocent III. at Rome, and obliged his crown to pay an annual quit rent to the Holy See. The ſtates of Arragon proteſted againſt an

an obligation which would infallibly be miſtaken for a tribute, and inſiſted that the king could not ſubmit to it without their conſent. No prince had ever been crowned at Rome without endangering the rights of ſovereignty. The pope thought that the crowning of kings depended upon him; at leaſt he acted as if it was not to be doubted; for he gave leave that the kings of Arragon might be crowned at Saragoſſa. What did ſuch a permiſſion ſignify?

There were four Chriſtian kingdoms in Spain.

This is all that I find remarkable in the hiſtory of Spain before the thirteenth century. It is hitherto detached from the general hiſtory of Europe; we meet with nothing but diviſions. The Moors loſt an extenſive territory, but the poſſeſſions of the Chriſtians were divided into four kingdoms, Leon and Caſtile, Navarre, Arragon, and Portugal; and theſe petty ſtates, ſubject to frequent revolutions, often at war with one another, formed a confuſed mixture of intereſts and events, in which neither virtues nor vices could be eminently diſtinguiſhed. To make particular narrations intereſting, politicks muſt have a conſpicuous theatre in which to act; the powers of the human mind muſt be diſplayed in their full vigour, or its errours and follies produce ſome extraordinary phenomenon.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

General Observations.

Eſtabliſhment of corporations and municipal government.

SOME eſtabliſhments, extremely uſeful both to ſovereigns and people, had been formed in the courſe of a century; to the firſt, by weakening the vaſſals, who undervalued the royal authority; to the ſecond, by the dawnings of liberty, which ſoftened the evils of oppreſſion. I ſpeak of *corporations* and municipal government. Theſe corporations were aſſociations of citizens for their mutual defence, and had the privilege of electing a mayor and ſheriffs, of governing themſelves and taking up arms, upon condition of furniſhing a number of men to the ſovereign in caſe of war, and paying him ſome quit rents. Theſe valuable privileges were purchaſed with money, and the cruſades, by obliging people to ſeek pecuniary reſources, helped to eſtabliſh them. Moſt of the cities by degrees became petty republicks, diſorderly at firſt, but in which the nobles could no longer exerciſe their tyranny; ſo that their ſovereigns muſt render their dominion reſpectable in time, or induſtry become the conſequence of their liberty.

Keenly oppoſed by the clergy.

The contending intereſts of the nobles and citizens, but in a more particular manner thoſe of the clergy, occaſioned great diſturbances at firſt. In the time of Louis the Fat, Gualderick,

biſhop of Laon, after having ſold his conſent to the corporation of that town, openly attacked them, and fell the victim of a ſedition which his own outrage had occaſioned. The archbiſhop of Reims next inveighed againſt corporations, alleging that they afforded the *ſerfs* a pretence for withdrawing their obedience from their lords: He quoted ſome paſſages of the goſpel upon the ſubject, without reflecting that the *ſerfs* recovered the rights of nature, and purchaſed a liberty which they had not loſt but from the ſcourge of barbariſm. The clergy having a great number of *ſerfs*, were the more alarmed by the new eſtabliſhment, as at that time they were little attentive to the intereſt of the publick.

The emperours of the Houſe of Franconia increaſed the number of free cities.

In Germany, the emperours of the Houſe of Franconia, always expoſed to the rebellions of their powerful vaſſals, increaſed the number of free cities from political motives, to ſtrengthen the party of the burghers. Henry V. granted the privileges of citizens to tradeſmen and *ſerfs* who inhabited ſeveral towns, which occaſioned the diſtinction of tribes into *nobles, free burgeſſes, and mechanick burghers*. Arts and manufactures, and even commerce, had hitherto been looked upon as diſgraceful. "*It was only*

Commerce flouriſhed at that time in Germany.

"*among the Sclavonians of Mecklenburg and*
"*Pomerania, that trade and manufactures were*
"*reſpected; they carried on a great commerce*
"*in the ports of Sleſwick, Rypen, and Julin,*
"*and ſailed even into Ruſſia. When Henry V.*
"*declared merchants and tradeſmen free, there*
"*was an univerſal change; the rivers of Ger-*
"*many*

" *many were covered with veſſels ; an abund-*
" *ance, hitherto unknown, paſſed from the cit-*
" *ies into the country ; and the people who*
" *were engaged in commerce, acquired a power,*
" *in leſs than a hundred and fifty years, which*
" *oftener than once made the kings of Den-*
" *mark and Sweden tremble.*" (Abregé de l'Hiſt. d'Allem.) Theſe are the fruits of liberty ; even at its birth it opens the road to happineſs.

Abilities and courage animated by liberty.

In moſt countries the ſame cauſes produce the ſame effects. Slavery depreſſes the mind, fetters the genius, and deprives induſtry of every ſupport by ſtifling emulation. When liberty ſteps forth, new ſentiments inſpire new ideas, which give full play to courage and all the faculties of the ſoul. But what numberleſs obſtacles are every where preſented to mar the happineſs of ſociety, and what a length of time is neceſſary to overcome them ! Their manners were ſtill under the yoke of barbariſm, and infinite miſchiefs were perpetually flowing from ignorance and ſuperſtition. Religion was ever in their mouths ; but ſo falſe were their ideas of it, that the moſt enormous abuſes were committed under cover of that reſpectable name.

But every thing was hurt by ignorance and ſuperſtition.

Contraſt between religion and ſuperſtition.

It is very extraordinary, that the zeal of ſome people makes them affect to conceal thoſe abuſes of which there are ſo many monuments preſerved in hiſtory, as if it were not more for the honour of religion, to ſhew mankind the abyſs into which they may be hurried by ſuperſtitious prejudices. It inſpires peace, charity, diſintereſtedneſs, a love of the publick weal, ſubmiſſion to the laws and to

men in authority, all the virtues which are eſſential to the exiſtence of ſociety, and which become ſacred by the faithful diſcharging of duties.

Effects of the laſt. First, Abuſe of the ſacred functions.

But, on the other hand, behold the effects of ſuperſtion. The ſacred duties of the clergy became an odious deſpotiſm. The pontiffs were not ſatisfied with the poſſeſſion of principalities, but deſirous to be the ſovereigns of the world, and to reduce all crowned heads under their dominion, and by means of bulls and excommunications, almoſt realized the odious chimera. The power of binding and looſing ſinners in a tribunal erected for the purpoſe of ſalvation, tied up thoſe hands that ought to have held the ſword and helm of kingdoms; and freed ſubjects from their oaths who ought to have executed their orders.

Second, Diſturbances in ſtates.

The clergy, who ought to be ſubject to the laws as well as the body of the people, confined legiſlation to the intereſt or prejudices of their own body: Becauſe every thing might be made a matter of conſcience, they thought they had a right to judge in all caſes; by which means marriage, the moſt important object of civil law, even that of kings as well as ſubjects, abſolutely depended upon their judgment. Thus the moſt eſſential contracts were not binding without the ſeal of their authority: Teſtaments were null, if they did not contain legacies to the church; and this devotion ſeemed ſuch an indiſpenſable duty, that to die without a will, was a crime ſufficient to deprive the deceaſed of the rights of ſepulture.

Third, Marriages and wills ſubjected to the juriſdiction of the clergy.

Fourth, Clerical privileges.

Thus the clerical privilege exempted from all contributions and publick

publick burdens, and protected from the hands of juſtice a number of abandoned wretches, who deſerved to be puniſhed with the greater ſeverity, as their abuſe of the ſacred profeſſion made their guilt the more atrocious. This is the picture which that period preſents to our view.

The effects of ſuperſtition moſt ſtriking in the cruſades.

Do not the cruſades alone ſufficiently diſplay the dreadful effects of ſuperſtition on the church, ſociety in general, kings, nobles, and private citizens? A plenary indulgence ſecured the remiſſion of ſins to all who enrolled themſelves in the armies of the popes. Europe was immediately ſet in a flame, enthuſiaſm ſeized the minds of the people, and they ran inſtantly to take the croſs. Princes abandoned their kingdoms, the rich their poſſeſſions, fathers their families, and prieſts their flocks. Every one eagerly haſtened to ſhare in theſe expeditions, even women and children: A diſtaff was ſent as an inſult, to thoſe who heſitated from motives of fear or reflection. *Cities and caſtles are become deſerts*, ſaid St. Bernard in his letter to pope Eugenius; *we every where ſee widows whoſe huſbands are alive.*

It was the fault of the cruſaders they did not ſucceed.

Is it not naturally to be expected, that the cruſaders, filled with religious fervour, would, if they were not conquerors, at leaſt prove pilgrims and exemplary penitents? However, their route was marked with murder and robbery; the torrent of their paſſions never abated, and they were glutted with human blood at the very time they gave vent to their devotion in tranſports at the holy ſepulchre. Had the cruſades been

been properly conducted, Aſia might have been ſubjected to the chriſtians; but they only ſerved to ruin and depopulate Europe, to cauſe millions of men to periſh, to make the popes more deſpotick, to extinguiſh the ſmall remains of diſcipline and penance in the church, becauſe ſuperſtition was the principal ſpring, and virtue and prudence equally excluded from their councils.

Superſtition produces fanaticiſm.

Superſtition naturally leads to fanaticiſm; it is exceedingly combuſtible, and wants but a ſingle ſpark to ſet it in a flame. During this period, France furniſhes us with a number of extraordinary inſtances. Sometimes convulſionaries, who aſcribed to the ſaints the power of agitating them with frantick motions; ſometimes madmen, who believed themſelves prophets, and, drawing the people after them, were worſhipped almoſt like God himſelf; ſometimes zealous reformers, who, under the pretence of cenſuring abuſes, attacked the eccleſiaſtical authority, broached hereſies and rebellions, and gave riſe to ſects who were enemies of the clergy, and whoſe progreſs made them the ſcourge of the chriſtian world.

The doctrine of Arnold of Breſcia could not fail to be contagious.

From the aſhes of Arnold of Breſcia, who was burnt in the year 1155, by order of pope Adrian IV. iſſued numerous ſwarms of fanaticks, that very ſoon gathered life under the ſword of perſecution. Unhappily the vices and diſorderly lives of the clergy furniſhed too much matter for invectives. The faith is always in danger, when its depoſitaries neither ſupport it by precept nor example. That hatred and

contempt

contempt which they bring upon themſelves, cannot fail to reach to the truths which they teach, and which give them a dominion over the minds of men. An inſolent curioſity endeavours to undervalue their inſtructions, on purpoſe to degrade their profeſſion, which was the ſource of new hereſies.

New monaſtick orders.

The new monaſtick orders of Ciſtercians, Carthuſians, and thoſe of Vallombroſa, Premontré, Fontevraud, &c. revived that extraordinary fervour which was no longer to be met with in the opulent order of Clugny: Of courſe they acquired lands with credit, and in their turns grew remiſs as well as the others. Certainly St. Bernard did not foreſee this, when he ſo bitterly cenſured the lives of the monks of Clugny: But by procuring an exemption from all tythes for his own order from pope Innocent II. he ſeems himſelf to have followed that inclination, which is but too natural, and with which the monks have been reproached, of ſoliciting privileges which diſtinguiſh and enrich their order. Was Peter the Venerable, abbot of Clugny, wrong in complaining of a conceſſion which was made to the prejudice of his monaſtery? "*Who ever heard*, ſaid he, *that* "*the pope by his ſingle will has ever deprived*, "*not only a church, but even a ſilly woman*, "*of her rights, without taking cognizance of* "*the cauſe; or that the property of one has been* "*given to another without the conſent of the* "*proprietor?*" Notwithſtanding theſe complaints, the privileges of the Ciſtercians were maintained, as the ancient exemptions of

St. Bernard too much prejudiced in favour of his own, in attacking thoſe of Clugny.

Clugny

Clugny had been, notwithſtanding thoſe of the biſhops. One abuſe ſeems to authorize another.

Adventures of Peter Igneus at Florence.

There are few anecdotes in the hiſtory of the new monks more extraordinary than that of Peter Igneus, which happened at Florence in the year 1067. The monks of Vallombroſa, and John Gualbert their founder, ſuſpecting the biſhop of Florence of ſimony, were perſuaded, from their zeal, that it was a duty to defame him; they loudly declared, that he was a heretick, and that they could not receive the ſacraments from him. Deaf to the remonſtrances of prudent men, and even to thoſe of the cardinal Peter Damien, they ſtirred up a ſedition of the people, but more particularly of the women of Florence againſt their prelate, and inſiſted upon the ordeal by fire. Peter Aldobrandin, a monk of that congregation, ſubmitted to it in the preſence of the whole city. Two piles of ten feet long were erected very near to each other; and when reduced almoſt to cinders, it is ſaid, he paſſed between them barefoot, and at a ſlow pace, without being in the leaſt burnt, from which he obtained the ſurname of *Igneus*. The miracle may be the more ſuſpected, as pope Alexander II. commanded the monks to be ſilent about it, but they diſobeyed; however, the pope depoſed the biſhop whom he would fruitleſsly have ſupported. Aldobrandin was afterwards promoted to the rank of Cardinal.

Quarrels among the monks.

Quarrels increaſed with the new inſtitutions: The regular canons contended with the monks for ſuperiority in point of perfection; the white

and

and the grey friars wanted to carry it over the black; the black, proud of their antiquity, were provoked at the arrogance of the new comers; ſarcaſms and invectives were not ſpared. Rivalſhip was ſtill more enflamed, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, when the mendicant friars attracted univerſal attention, eclipſed all the other orders, and became the ſole directors of conſciences. Every thing ſooner or later ſhews a tincture of human weakneſs. What ſhould ſeem very extraordinary, is, not the orders of monks degenerating as they became more powerful, but that in multiplying beyond meaſure, they never once reflected, that they were to undergo the fate of all human inſtitutions; and that thoſe who were no longer uſeful, became hurtful from that very circumſtance.

Follies which produce ignorance and ſuperſtition.

I ſhall not loſe time in giving proofs of the ignorance of thoſe ages, when all was miracle or prophecy. The authenticity of a ſuſpected relick was proved by bulls; councils decided upon the authority of forged acts with regard to the antiquity of a ſaint, or the place where his body was depoſited. A bold impoſtor, or a mad enthuſiaſt, needed only to open his mouth to perſuade the multitude whatever he pleaſed. Till the time that the clergy acquired learning, and informed the minds of the people, we ſhall ſee fatal extravagancies perpetuated under the maſk of religion. The *feaſt of fools*, the *feaſt of aſſes*, are a diſgrace to religion; but, however, they did not diſturb ſociety.

The peripatetick philoſophy,

The works of Ariſtotle, badly tranſlated, and wretchedly commented on by the Arabians, ſtill worſe

a ſource of ſcholaſtick diſputes.

worſe underſtood by the chriſtians in the Weſt, far from ſpreading a taſte for philoſophy ſuited to diſpel errours, proved the ſource of all the ſcholaſtick diſputes, which were as hurtful to ſociety as ignorance. This rage for diſputing, which began before the time of Gregory VII. made aſtoniſhing progreſs in proportion as the minds of men waked from their lethargy. The *univerſals*, the *diſtinctions*, the ridiculous futilities of the ſchools, became important objects, about which they quarreled with rage and animoſity.

They extended to religious doctrines.

Unfortunately they handled the doctrines of religion as they did metaphyſicks; matters of faith already ſo obſcure in themſelves, were involved in a jargon of words without ideas, and they thought they explained them by rendering them more inexplicable. It was this

Abelard perſecuted.

that ruined Abelard, a man of genius, learned, conſidering the age in which he lived, and virtuous after his fall with Eloiſa, but a raſh theologian, and bigotted to his ſyſtems. His explanations of the Trinity raiſed ſome enemies againſt him, who were more to be dreaded from their power than their knowledge, and he was condemned by the council of Soiſſons without a hearing. St. Bernard employed all his zeal againſt him, and from that time the theologian experienced nothing but continual diſturbance and mortifications. If we may believe his account of the matter, ſome perſon accuſed him, before the council of Soiſſons, of teaching that the Father alone is all powerful; upon which Conon the legate, with an air of ſurpriſe, ſaid

Ignorance of his accuſers.

A child could not be capable of ſuch a miſtake, ſince the elements of the faith tell us, that there are three Almighties. Upon which, one of the profeſſors quoted with a ſmile, the words of the creed—*And yet there is but one Almighty.* Abelard's great offence was, that he eclipſed his rivals, who were jealous of his reputation, and becauſe he would not echo the opinions of others. The monks of St. Dennis looked upon him as guilty of impiety, and a ſtate criminal, becauſe he preſumed to queſtion the fable of St. Dennis the Areopagyte, their pretended patron.

Sciences of the Arabians.

All the ideas which they had of the ſciences, at that time, came from the Arabians, whoſe moſt famous writers were Avicenna and Averroes. They were attached to mathematicks, to an appearance of philoſophy taken from Ariſtotle, and to medicine, mixed with judicial aſtrology. The ſchool of Salerno was indebted to them for its fame, and about the beginning of the twelfth century, this ſchool publiſhed its celebrated work, containing the precepts of phyſick, in Leonine verſe. The clergy and monks were for a long time the ſole poſſeſſors of a ſcience ſo little ſuited to their profeſſion; they only could read the books which contained it, and they alone were capable of making any uſe of them.

School of Salerno.

Univerſities.

Other ſchools cultivated different ſubjects; academies or univerſities were inſtituted. We obſerved before, that the Roman juriſprudence was taught with reputation at Bologna. Irnerius or Wernerus had the honour of making this

Civilians of Bologna.

ſtudy

ſtudy flouriſh in that place, under the emperour Lothaire II. It has been aſſerted, that his diſciple Aſo had ten thouſand auditors; and Accurſus, who ſucceeded him, was called the *idol of the civilians*. The firſt authors, or reſtorers of ſcience, always excite a ſort of ſuperſtitious veneration. Being themſelves ſuperſtitiouſly attached to thoſe books of which they are the interpreters, they often miſtake the letter for the ſpirit of the author; inſtead of diſcuſſing the principles, they carried them to extravagant lengths, defending the falſe with the ſame zeal as the true, and often with a greater degree of enthuſiaſm. The Roman law has had it fanaticks, whoſe prejudices have found the way into modern legiſlation.

The eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction ought to be limited by the civil.

However, nothing could be more fundamentally uſeful than that kind of ſtudy, where, among a number of bad laws, the moſt ſolid foundations of ſociety may be found; in which the principal object of ſtudy ought to be the knowledge neceſſary for fixing the limits of both powers, as much as the nature of things will allow, and the method of reſtraining the abuſe of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction. But the court of Rome was never without reſources. Gratian, a Tuſcan monk, in the time of Eugenius III. publiſhed his famous collection of canons, entitled, *Concordantia canonum diſcordantium*; a confuſed work, badly compoſed, full of errours, being a ſeries of falſe decretals, endeavouring to eſtabliſh a boundleſs deſpotiſm in the Holy See, and to withdraw the clergy entirely from the cognizance of ſecular tribunals;

To which the Concordia of Gratian was oppoſed.

a work, however, which was made the basis of the canon law, the rule for decisions, and by continuing several ages, has prevailed over common sense, as well as over the civil law and the true discipline of the church. The commentaries with which it has been loaded are still more absurd than the text.

Means to make the canon law prevail.

We shall in this place, with Gianone, take notice of a remarkable instance of the policy of the Romish court. The more the civil law was studied, the more it was necessary to make the canon law prevail. They opposed book to book, still following the same method; *Gratian's decree* to the *pandects*, *Gregory's decretals* to the *code*, to the *novellæ* the *sixth decretal*, and the *Clementine constitutions* with the *Extravagants of John and his successors*. Paul IV. caused the canonical *institutes* to be composed, that they might be set in opposition to the *institutes* of Justinian. (See *l'Histoire de Naples*, *livre* xiv.) This kind of study was the road to preferment, and absorbed almost every other.

Manners always gross.

The manners in general were still the same; gross stupidity, brutal valour, romantick gallantry, or blind credulity, were the characteristicks of the times. Causes were decided by duels or senseless practices; taste and the polite amusements of society were unknown; there was no police, no security for individuals, no just notion of any thing, and consequently, no principle of happiness. The instinct of savages seems preferable to this state of society, where there was neither peace nor regularity.

An

Armorial bearings derived from the cruſades.

An invention derived from the cruſades was that of armorial bearings, by which the champions were diſtinguiſhed under the iron armour that entirely covered their bodies. From hence ſprung heraldry, which has been regarded as a ſcience when uſeful ſtudies were almoſt entirely neglected.

FIFTH

FIFTH EPOCHA.

INNOCENT III. *and* FREDERICK II.—INCREASE *of the* POWER *of the* POPES.—END *of the* CRUSADES *under St.* LOUIS.

[From the Beginning to near the End of the Thirteenth Century.]

CHAP. I.

Pontificate of INNOCENT III.——*His Attempts againſt* PHILIP AUGUSTUS, *&c.*——*Fourth Cruſade, and Taking of* CONSTANTINOPLE.

INNOCENT III. one of the greateſt geniuſes, and moſt able and daring men that ever ſat upon the papal throne, deſerves to be placed at the head of this epocha, as his attempts and ſucceſs ſurpaſſed thoſe of Gregory VII. Being choſen in the year 1198, before he was forty years of age, he immediately ſignalized his ſkill in politicks, by ſome ſtrokes of authority which promiſed a ſteady purſuit of deſpotiſm. He made himſelf maſter of Ancona, Spoleto, and ſeveral other places; entered into

Innocent III. capable of ſurpaſſing Gregory VII.

His firſt ſtrokes of authority.

into a league with the principal cities of Tuſcany againſt the empire; deprived the king of Sicily of the right of being legate in that kingdom, by giving the inveſtiture to the young king Frederick, ſon of Henry VI. and queen Conſtance; and if he accepted the guardianſhip of that prince, who was ſtill an infant, it was not ſo much with a view to be his protector, as a deſire of oppreſſing him; for he did not long delay to ſhew his hatred of the Houſe of Suabia, which was too powerful to appear in his eyes the friend of the Holy See.

His hatred of the Houſe of Suabia.

1197. Frederick II. ſhould have ſucceeded his father Henry VI.

The imperial crown belonged to Frederick II. becauſe he had been declared king of the Romans from his cradle. His uncle Philip, duke of Franconia and Suabia, marquis of Tuſcany, was charged with the guardianſhip and the regency, but was the more deteſted by Innocent, as he had deſpiſed the cenſures of the church when excommunicated by Celeſtine III. The pope inſpired the biſhop of Cologne with his ſentiments, and raiſed a cabal, which elected Berthold, the declared enemy of the Houſe of Suabia, emperour; but Philip, by a preſent of eleven thouſand marks of ſilver, perſuaded Berthold to deſiſt, and then repreſenting to the ſtates how favourable the minority of Frederick was to the views of the court of Rome, got himſelf elected, either to gratify his own ambition, or to preſerve the crown in his family.

The pope gets Otho elected.

He very ſoon had a competitor to contend with. The archbiſhop of Cologne, who was the pope's inſtrument, ſet every ſpring in motion, and by his intrigues ſurreptitiouſly aſſembled

assembled a diet, where the votes fell upon Otho of Brunswick, count of Poitou, nephew of Richard king of England, and third son of Henry the Lion, duke of Bavaria, whose rebellions had been punished by Frederick Barbarossa. Otho was indebted to Richard's money for his election, but after the death of that king, his successour John *Lackland* did not continue to assist him. Philip, in alliance with the king of France, having defeated his rival, all Germany declared in his favour; and Innocent, who had excommunicated him, at last was reconciled, in hopes of procuring a daughter of that prince in marriage for his nephew; but the emperour did not long enjoy these advantages, for he was assassinated in 1208, by a nobleman whom he had offended; when Otho IV. who was on the point of being crushed, was universally acknowledged by the diet of the empire.

Philip conquers him, and is assassinated.

Otho succeeds him.

France and England became the theatre of most important transactions: There it was that Innocent III. by his bulls, anathemas, and legates, wanted to dispose of every thing, as the sovereign both of kings and people. Philip Augustus having divorced Ingelburge, daughter of the king of Denmark, the kingdom was laid under a general interdict in consequence of this divorce, though two legates of Celestine III. had declared the marriage null because of their being related. Thus marriages were annulled or not annulled on account of kindred, according to the views of the court of Rome at the time; and sovereigns had no rule upon

1200. Divorce of Philip Augustus.

He reſiſts at firſt, but afterwards yields to the pope.

which they could depend. At firſt, Philip diſplayed the ſteadineſs of his temper, and puniſhed whoever preſumed to diſturb the kingdom by executing the orders of the pope; but yielding from policy, he reſtored the title of queen to Ingelburge, from which ſhe received but little advantage, being immured in a cloiſter. The views of the pope were directed to England, at that time expoſed to violent revolutions, which it was his intereſt to promote.

John *Lackland* cauſes Arthur duke of Bretagne, who diſputed the crown, to be aſſaſſinated.

After the death of Richard, his brother John, ſurnamed *Lackland*, becauſe he was left without appanage by Henry II. was acknowledged his ſucceſſor: But young Arthur, duke of Bretagne, claimed the crown in right of primogeniture, as being ſon of an elder brother of John. In France, where the feodal tenure is more regarded than in England, and where Philip Auguſtus wanted to weaken a powerful rival, Arthur ſaw Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, declare in his favour. A ſlight accommodation was followed by an open war, as ſoon as Philip ceaſed to be afraid of the perſecutions of pope Innocent. The French army was victorious; but unfortunately the duke of Bretagne loſt a battle, and fell into the hands of his uncle, a cowardly, inhuman tyrant, who, without remorſe, cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated.

1203. He is ſummoned to the aſſembly of peers in France.

The mother of Arthur, and the ſtates of Bretagne, applied for juſtice to the king of France, as lord paramount of the murderer. The vaſſal being ſummoned to the aſſembly of peers, did not attend, and therefore all his poſſeſſions in the kingdom were confiſcated. It

is

is certain, that a vaſſal was under the juriſdiction of the king, and ought to ſuffer the ſentence of his peers, or the great vaſſals immediately depending on the crown : But whether the confiſcation of ſo many provinces was lawful, or that according to the feodal law, John could only be condemned to loſe the ſovereignty of Bretagne, which was dependent on Normandy, as the Abbé Mably alleges ; ſuch a decree could not be enforced but by arms. Philip taking advantage of the ſtupid cowardice of the king of England, who looked on tamely while he carried all before him, very ſoon ſeized Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou, leaving him only Guienne. We may judge of the two kings by the conqueſts of the one, and the indolence of the other.

Confiſcation of his provinces.

The Engliſh had ſolicited the protection of Innocent, who ſet himſelf up as judge, and frequently commanded both parties to put an end to the war, alleging, that he did not judge of the fief, but of the ſin ; an admirable ſubterfuge to claim being judge of all political cauſes, and in general, all the affairs of the world, for where is it that ſin is not to be found ? Philip was not much afraid of his threatenings, and replied, that the quarrels of kings were not within the cognizance of the church ; but we ſhall ſee the pope intermeddle in a manner ſtill more extraordinary.

Innocent III. ſets himſelf up as judge of the diſpute.

In the courſe of this revolution, Innocent rekindled the flame of the holy war, and Conſtantinople became the victim. Foulques, the clergyman of Neuilli, an ignorant enthuſiaſt,

Fourth cruſade preached up in France.

ſucceeded as well as St. Bernard in preaching up a war, which was ſtill called holy, notwithſtanding paſt experience had ſhewn it to be a ſource of crimes. Baldwin, count of Flanders, was the head of the expedition ; and Venice exacting a conſiderable ſum for tranſporting the army, ſupplied the ſhips. The cruſaders began with attacking Zara in Dalmatia, a chriſtian town which had ſhaken off the Venetian yoke. The pope denounced excommunications againſt them in vain ; the place was taken, and the Venetians triumphed. Though the indulgences promiſed to the cruſaders were very ſeducing, yet ambition had attractions ſtill more powerful, eſpecially in the eyes of a commercial people, as greedy of wealth and conqueſt as the ancient Carthaginians.

The Venetians take Zara, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the pope.

The ſtorm ſoon fell upon Conſtantinople, which was torn in pieces by cruel diſſenſions. Iſaacus Angelus had been dethroned there in the year 1195, by his brother Alexis, who reigned like a cowardly tyrant. The ſon of Iſaacus, whoſe name likewiſe was Alexis, implored the aſſiſtance of the cruſaders againſt the uſurper, promiſing to ſupply them with proviſions, to pay them two hundred thouſand marks of ſilver, and to ſubmit to the pope, &c. By this means the lawful emperour was reſtored, and he ratified the treaty, though the conditions ſeemed to him impoſſible to be complied with : He cauſed the ſacred veſſels to be melted for the payment of the debt, and his ſon exhauſted the ſtate for the ſame purpoſe.

The cruſaders reſtore Iſaacus Angelus, who had been dethroned by his brother.

Upon what conditions.

While

1204. Conſtantinople revolts.

While the people were exaſperated by theſe tranſactions, their hatred was increaſed by the outrages and depredations of the cruſaders, and they revolted againſt the two emperours, for the ſon as well as the father enjoyed that title. Iſaacus died, young Alexis was aſſaſſinated, and Alexis Ducas, ſurnamed Murtzulphus, the perpetrator of the deed, ſeized the throne : But the cruſaders taking advantage of the conjuncture, ſeized Conſtantinople, pillaged it, and gave themſelves up to the moſt enormous exceſſes. The pope's legate and the biſhops at firſt oppoſed this enterpriſe as an act of injuſtice ; but when they ſaw the advantage it muſt bring to the Holy See, they authoriſed the revolt, and promiſed a plenary indulgence for the conqueſt.

The cruſaders taking advantage of this circumſtance, make themſelves maſters of it.

The Venetians got poſſeſſion of Peloponneſus, or the Morea, Candia, and ſeveral towns: Baldwin obtained the empire with almoſt no power, for every thing was divided, and the Greeks retained ſome ſhare. Theodore Laſcaris fixed at Nicæa, and an Alexis Comnenus had Trebiſond : They gave their petty ſtates the name of empires. Baldwin was defeated and cut in pieces by the Bulgarians in the year 1205. Henry, his brother and ſucceſſour, died by poiſon in the year 1216. Peter de Courtenai, of the royal family of France, who ſucceeded him, fell by the treachery of a Comnenus : In one word, the Latin empire of Conſtantinople had neither ſtrength, glory, nor proſperity, during the fifty years which it laſted. A chriſtian city, the moſt flouriſhing in the world, taken for

The Venetians gain the Morea, Candia, &c.

But the French empire of Conſtantinople was very weak.

for the firſt time, and cruelly plundered by chriſtians, with a plenary indulgence, ſufficiently characteriſes the prevailing temper of the cruſaders.

This conqueſt approved by Innocent III.

The following expreſſions were employed by Innocent III. on the ſubject of this conqueſt: *God having been pleaſed to comfort his church by the reunion of the ſchiſmaticks, has made the empire of the proud, ſuperſtitious, diſobedient Greeks, to fall under the humble, pious, catholick, and ſubmiſſive Latins.* In this manner, an advantageous picture is given of men and things, by intereſted prejudices.

CHAP. II.

The INQUISITION; CRUSADE *againſt the* ALBIGENSES.—*Reign of* JOHN LACKLAND.—*Death of* INNOCENT III.

War againſt hereticks, the conſequence of the cruſades.

AFTER the ſucceſs of ſuch an enterpriſe, it was to be expected that more of the ſame kind would follow. Examples always ſerve for rules. If a war againſt ſchiſmaticks could be called holy, that name might with much more reaſon be given to one againſt hereticks, whoſe number increaſed daily, and whoſe doctrines undermined the power of the clergy, and the eſtabliſhed principles of the church.

Sources of hereſy.

The pride and curioſity of the human mind; the deteſtation of abuſes rendered ſacred by ignorance;

norance ; a frantick zeal for reformation, which was even more dangerous than the abuſes ; the obſtinacy and raſhneſs ſo natural to enthuſiaſts, when it is attempted to compel them to believe what they do not believe, or to puniſh their errours as crimes ; all together ſerved to ſpread and excite that paſſion for new ſects, which the flaming piles at Orleans in the time of king Robert could not deſtroy.

What were the hereticks of the twelfth century.

The twelfth century produced many innovators, becauſe the deſire of liberty led to licentiouſneſs ; and in conſequence of their reaſoning upon religion, they ventured to break through the bounds of the faith. Peter de Bruys, a native of Dauphiny, attacked infant baptiſm, the maſs, prayers for the dead, the worſhip of the croſs, and other articles which have been controverted ever ſince. His execution, like that of Arnold of Breſcia, ſerved only as a ſignal for rebellion. France and Italy were filled with hereticks, *cathari* or *patarines*, *the humbled*, *the poor men of Lyons*, or *Waldenſes*, or *Albigenſes*, all of them having nearly the ſame principles, and all commonly confounded under the name of manicheans, though their opinions ſeemed very different from manicheiſm ; almoſt all of them accuſed, though without proof (as the firſt chriſtians were by the idolaters, and afterwards the Jews by the chriſtians) either of ſacrificing children, or committing abominable exceſſes at their nocturnal aſſemblies. They were for the moſt part bigotted fanaticks, who taking the goſpel according to the letter, madly run after chimeras of perfection.

Lucius

Origin of the inquiſition.

Lucius III. at a council held in Rome, in the year 1184, had already given orders to the biſhops to make diligent ſearch for perſons ſuſpected of hereſy, even upon ſimple informations, that they might be given up to the ſecular power after undergoing ſpiritual puniſhments. His bull contained the ſeeds of the inquiſition, which very ſoon made rapid progreſs. In the year 1198, Innocent ſent two Ciſtercian monks into the ſouthern provinces of France to proſecute hereticks. He commanded princes and lords to puniſh all who ſhould be excommunicated, by confiſcations or baniſhment, or methods ſtill more ſevere; and gave authority to the two monks to compel the lords to compliance by cenſures and interdicts: What diſturbances muſt not ſuch an order produce!

Innocent ordained temporal puniſhments for hereſy.

1208. He excommunicates Raimond, count of Toulouſe.

Raimond VI. count of Toulouſe, a deſcendant of the general who commanded in the firſt cruſade, intereſted himſelf in favour of his unhappy ſubjects the Albigenſes, whom the pope wanted to exterminate. Innocent excommunicated him as a favourer of hereſy. It is probable that the miſſionary legates, whoſe inſolence had occaſioned great diſcontent, ſhewed very little reſpect to the excommunicated prince, either in their diſcourſe or behaviour. St. Dominick, who was at that time a regular canon, was joined to them along with a Spaniſh biſhop; and adviſed them to change their life, recommending to them the auſterity of the apoſtles; but he could not ſoften their prejudices. Peter de Caſtelnau, one of theſe legates, having been aſſaſſinated,

assassinated, the murder was imputed to Raimond. Without examination, without proof, and against law, the pontiff gave his dominions to whoever could make themselves masters of them; at the same time publishing a crusade against him, with all the indulgences which could be obtained in a war against the Turks.

He gives away his dominions, and publishes the crusade against the Albigenses.

The count de Toulouse, too weak to defend himself, submitted, begged absolution, made the *amende honourable* in his shirt, was beaten with rods, and gave up seven towns as a proof of his sincerity and penitence. It was even insisted on, that he should take the cross against his subjects, and he obeyed. The famous Simon de Montfort, chief of the expedition, shed torrents of heretical blood in the name of the Lord. The abbot of the Cistercians, who was legate, and the bishops themselves, who had taken the cross, inflamed the fanaticks, and thousands of Albigenses were burnt or massacred without mercy. It would seem as if murder had been an act of christian piety. Experience, at least, proved, though fruitlessly, that this was not the way to extirpate heresy.

He compels Raimond to take the cross.

Barbarity of the crusaders, and of the count de Montfort, their chief.

Amidst these cruelties, Raimond being stript of a great part of his dominions, which he was commanded to yield to the count de Montfort, fled for refuge to his brother in law, Peter II. king of Arragon, and was again excommunicated. Peter not being able to obtain any favour for him, took up arms, entered Languedock, and lost his life at the battle of Muret, in the year 1213, when the crusaders gained a complete victory; and it was in vain for Raimond

Raimond stript of his dominions, implores help from Peter II. king of Arragon.

Peter killed at the battle of Muret.

to

to ſue either for pardon or juſtice. Innocent III. at a council in the Lateran, would only grant him the benefit of doing penance, with a penſion of four hundred marks. Montfort, entirely devoted to the church, which ſo well rewarded his zeal, continued his outrages till the year 1218, when he fell at the ſiege of Touloufe.

Quarrels of John Lackland with Innocent.

During the cruſade of the Albigenſes, Innocent ſignalized himſelf by ſtill more ſurpriſing attempts againſt the crown of England. Notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the king, he beſtowed the ſee of Canterbury upon cardinal Langton. John Lackland, who was equally paſſionate and cowardly, inſulted and provoked the pontiff, who immediately thundered his cenſures againſt him, and laid his kingdom under an interdict: A perſonal excommunication denounced againſt the king, in the year 1209, ſet the whole nation in a flame. Almoſt all the prelates withdrew; the barons, over whom the king had tyrannized, entered into conſpiracies; every thing favoured the vengeance of Innocent, and inſpired him with a preſumption which nothing could moderate.

1212. The pope give his kingdom to the king of France.

He at laſt beſtowed the kingdom on Philip Auguſtus, and granted him the indulgences of a cruſade to put this odious ſentence in execution. To accept it, was to acknowledge that the pope was employing his lawful authority, and to expoſe himſelf from that time to be dethroned by a bull; but ambition is blind, or rather Philip was not afraid of ſuch treatment, and was glad to take advantage of the preſent opportunity:

opportunity: He therefore accepted the grant, and, with a fleet of ſeventeen hundred ſail, ſet out to conquer England. Then it was that the whole addreſs of Roman policy was diſplayed. Pandolphus, the legate, went to Dover to treat with John; and having repreſented his danger, prevailed with him to receive Langton, and to yield up his kingdom to the pope. In 1213, the mean ſpirited king acknowledged himſelf the vaſſal of the holy father, obliged himſelf to pay an annual tribute of a thouſand marks of ſilver, fell upon his knees before the legate, who was ſeated upon a throne, and took the oath of fidelity. Innocent III. congratulated king John in high terms, on his poſſeſſing a *ſacerdotal kingdom*; and Pandolphus immediately haſtened to declare to the king of France, that England, being a fief of the Roman church, he muſt not attack it, upon pain of excommunication.

Artifice of Pandolphus.

The treachery was too black for a poſſibility of finding a rational pretence to varniſh it: Almoſt the whole vaſſals of Philip ſhared in the indignation with which he was animated: Having had the misfortune to loſe his fleet, he was not able to carry his arms into England; but he revenged himſelf upon the count of Flanders and the emperour Otho IV. who were the allies of John, and defeated the imperial army, which was double the ſtrength of his own, in a battle fought at Bouvines in Flanders. This famous victory increaſed his authority in the kingdom.

Philip Auguſtus loſes his fleet.

But he gains the battle of Bouvines.

On the contrary, that of John grew weaker every day; his injuſtice, treachery, and cruelty made his own ſubjects rebel againſt him; and

1215. Rebellion of the Engliſh.

Langton,

Langton, the primate, ſet himſelf at the head of the inſurgents. They compelled the king to ſign the *Magna Charta*, which the Engliſh, at this day, look upon as the foundation of their liberties. Among other articles it declares, that the king ſhall impoſe no tax without the conſent of parliament; that no perſon ſhall be proſecuted, but according to law; and that no free man ſhall be impriſoned, baniſhed, *&c.* but by the ſentence of his peers. The barons took the ſovereign authority into their own hands; but John ſoon broke his oath. Innocent III. condemned it as an encroachment on the privileges of the Holy See, and denounced excommunication againſt whoever ſhould dare to maintain it: Upon which the Engliſh offered the crown to Louis, ſon and heir of Philip Auguſtus.

Magna Chartæ

Violated by John, and condemned by the pope.

The crown of England offered to the ſon of Philip Auguſtus.

Neither father nor ſon were affected by the anathemas which were threatened. Philip pretended to oppoſe the enterpriſe, but privately furniſhed the means for its execution; both being excommunicated, only ſerved to make them more ardent in the purſuit. In the year 1216, Louis had almoſt completed the conqueſt of England, when the death of John ſuddenly put an end to all his hopes. As the national jealouſies had already found vent, and nothing but the deteſtation of a tyrant could have ſupported the intereſt of a foreign prince, the Engliſh immediately proclaimed young Henry III. eldeſt ſon of the late king; and prince Louis was obliged to abandon a crown, which it was not poſſible to unite with that of France.

The death of John makes a total change.

Innocent

Innocent III. tranſported with rage at the news of the expedition of prince Louis, mounted the pulpit, and exclaimed—*Sword, ſword, come forth from thy ſcabbard, and ſharpen thyſelf to kill*; an expreſſion which ſerved as a prelude to new anathemas. He died in the year 1216. Some authors greatly praiſe this pontiff; while Matthew Paris, an Engliſh monk, and the beſt hiſtorian of his time, paints him in the blackeſt colours: But a ſingle word is ſufficient; Gregory VII. was his model, and he ſurpaſſed that model. The mendicant orders, of which the popes made ſuch advantageous uſe, were inſtituted by him; it was he that eſtabliſhed the inquiſition, which has frequently been as terrible to ſcience as to hereſy.

Death of Innocent III. in 1216.

He made himſelf ſovereign in Rome, from whence ſo many popes had been driven by various factions: He had poſſeſſion of the patrimony of St. Peter; that is, Romania, Ombria, the marche of Ancona, Viterbo, &c. which made part of the dominions given to the Holy See by the counteſs Matilda. None of his predeceſſors had been ſo powerful as a prince, or ſo terrible as pope. He did not acquire this power but by dint of intrigues and excommunications.

His power in quality of ſovereign.

The diſturbances which he excited in Germany were one of the main inſtruments of his policy. In beſtowing the imperial crown on Otho IV. he made him ſwear to reſtore the marche of Ancona, the dutchy of Spoleto, with the other allodial poſſeſſions of Matilda, and to renounce the right of mortmain, or the ſpoils of the prelates. The next year Otho violated his oath,

The conditions upon which he crowned Otho IV. emperour.

oath, which he ſaid was incompatible with that he had taken to defend the rights of the empire; but Innocent was avenged by civil wars and excommunications, In the year 1212, young Frederick, king of Sicily, was proclaimed emperour by the diet of Nuremberg; and his rival, who was defeated at Bouvines by Philip Auguſtus, finding that he was not capable of preſerving himſelf upon the throne, voluntarily renounced it; and the pope procured whatever he pleaſed from Frederick II. who very ſoon became the victim of pontifical hatred.

Frederick II. proclaimed inſtead of Otho.

Anarchy of Germany.

Frederick, at the beginning of his reign, required his nobles to take an oath, that they would not counterfeit money, nor rob upon the highway. Such an oath is a ſufficient proof of the anarchy into which Germany had ſunk. The emperour having cauſed his ſon Henry to be elected king of the Romans, at the diet of Frankfort, in the year 1220, obtained the conſent of the ſtates to go and receive the imperial crown; and renounced the right of mortmain, the power of eſtabliſhing new tolls, of building forts, and of making foreign money current in the poſſeſſions of the clergy; who were already ſo powerful in Germany, and became more ſo by theſe conceſſions.

Conceſſions of the emperour before he went to Italy.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Emperour FREDERICK II. *perſecuted by* GREGORY IX.—*His Expedition to* PALESTINE.—*End of the War againſt the* ALBIGENSES.—*Beginning of the Reign of* ST. LOUIS.

FREDERICK, who was crowned by pope Honorius III. not only fulfilled his promiſe of reſtoring the inheritance of the counteſs Matilda to the Holy See, but likewiſe gave up the kingdom of the two Sicilies to his ſon, at the ſame time declaring that kingdom incapable of being united with the imperial dominions. The court of Rome dreaded that it would no longer be a fief of the Holy See, if the union took place. The power of the Houſe of Suabia gave the pope the moſt anxious diſquiet: An emperour, who was king of Lombardy, Naples, and Sicily; whoſe territories ſurrounded the papal dominions on every ſide, muſt naturally expect to be expoſed to the ſhafts which would be levelled at him by the ambitious policy of the pontiffs; who, in quality of ſovereigns, gave too much attention to their temporal intereſts.

1220. Frederick forever parts the kingdom of the two Sicilies from the imperial dominions.

Frederick, having been accuſtomed to the charms of ſo fine a climate from his infancy, was fond of living in Italy; but that country was diſtracted by the factions of the Guelphs and Gibelines, which the quarrels between the prieſthood and the emperours had occaſioned in Germany

Italy torn in pieces by the factions of the Guelphs and Gibelines.

Germany about a century before; the firſt of them declaring in favour of the popes, the ſecond of the emperours. Diſcord prevailed in cities and in private families; and nothing was to be ſeen but mortal enmities, outrage, and depredations; the inhabitants of towns fighting with one another, after they had fought with their neighbours; but Lombardy, in particular, became a theatre of endleſs diſcord.

The civil wars of the Lombards not very bloody.

"*In theſe wars of the Lombards,*" ſays Muratori, "*the people did not renounce humanity*; "*whoever begged for quarter obtained it*; *and* "*they thought it a greater honour to make priſ-* "*oners than to kill their enemies.*" This moderation did not prevent them from feeling the miſeries of war; yet, amidſt all their diviſions, the Lombards always retained a ſpirit of independence: Milan had ſeduced moſt of the other cities to join in a league againſt the emperour; and Frederick was preparing to reduce them, when the court of Rome, which could not endure him in Italy, found means to make him withdraw from that country.

Bad ſucceſs of a new cruſade;

Some years before, an army of French, Germans, Hungarians, Italians, and Engliſh, had gone into the Eaſt to eſtabliſh John de Brienne, a younger ſon of the houſe of Champagne, upon the throne of Jeruſalem. In the year 1219, they took Damieta in Egypt, after a two years ſiege; but Pelagius, a Spaniſh monk and cardinal, who was legate of the cruſade, having alleged that the pope being the chief of the holy wars, the command belonged to him; and the pontiff, whoſe orders they expected, having decided

in which a monk, who was legate, wanted to command.

decided in his favour, this new general managed ſo well as to ruin the expedition. The misfortunes of one cruſade only ſerved to bring on another, and the preſent occaſion ſeemed favourable for getting rid of Frederick.

1227. The emperour engages in another cruſade.

He had engaged in a cruſade againſt the infidels, under Innocent III. and to intereſt him ſtill more, he was perſuaded to marry Yolande, the only daughter of John de Brienne, titular king of Jeruſalem; but as the affairs of Europe were of more importance to him than thoſe of Paleſtine, he prudently deferred the expedition. Even Sicily, his hereditary kingdom, was diſturbed by quarrels with the pontiff. At laſt Gregory IX. who ſucceeded Honorius III. a pontiff of a moſt ungovernable temper, commanded him to accompliſh his vow, and obliged him to embark; but excommunicated him, becauſe he returned ſick to Brindiſi, after having been three days at ſea. The next year Frederick embarked again; but becauſe he had not got himſelf abſolved before his departure, he was again excommunicated. The court of Rome was reſolved to ruin him, and all his proceedings were converted into crimes.

Gregory IX. obliges him to ſet out, and excommunicates him after his departure.

He gains Jeruſalem by treaty.

Notwithſtanding the anathema, no one ever ſucceeded ſo well; for Almelec, the ſultan of Egypt, yielded to him, by treaty, Jeruſalem, Bethlem, Nazareth, and Sidon; and they agreed upon a truce for ten years. Both princes gained by the accommodation; for the muſſulman, who had been expoſed to civil wars, was freed from the chriſtian army; and Frederick, now maſter of Jeruſalem, the great object of the cru-

ſades, could return to protect his own dominions, which were attacked by Gregory IX.

The pope imputes it to him as a crime ;

The pope having imputed to him as a crime his departure, while under ſentence of excommunication, did not fail to lay another to his charge, for having treated with infidels ; but more particularly for having allowed them a moſque in Jeruſalem, which they likewiſe regarded as a holy city. The pontiff fulminated the moſt terrible excommunications againſt him,

and kindles wars againſt him.

ſet Italy in a flame, ſeized La Puglia, armed John de Brienne againſt his ſon in law, made an offer of the empire to different princes, and certainly would have dethroned the emperour, if the Germans had at that time been as much diſpoſed to rebellion as the Italians.

1230. Frederick triumphs, but nevertheleſs pays money to the pope.

Frederick arrived and triumphed over his enemies, and the Romans ſeized the opportunity of revolting againſt Gregory ; who being reduced to extremity, entered into a negotiation with the emperour, and granted him abſolution, upon condition of his paying a hundred and thirty thouſand marks of ſilver. The popes had rendered themſelves ſo formidable by their anathemas, that though they were defeated, the conquerors were ſtill happy if they could pur-

He puniſhes his rebellious ſon.

chaſe a peace. Frederick did not long enjoy it ; for his ſon Henry, whom he had cauſed to be choſen king of the Romans, followed the example of the ſon of Henry IV. undoubtedly becauſe the pontiff imitated that of Urban II. and Paſcal II. but the rebel was puniſhed ; for, being ſeized in the year 1234, he ended his life in a priſon ; and the battle of Cortenuova, which

Frederick

Frederick gained afterwards over the people of Milan, ſeemed to put an end to rebellion, and the league of Lombardy.

He defeats the people of Milan at Cortenuova.

However, the war with the prieſthood was again rekindled, on account of Sardinia. Gregory IX. from ancient prejudices, alleged, that this iſland belonged to the Holy See, and the emperour claimed it as a fief of the empire; upon which the animoſity of the pontiff burſt forth with redoubled fury. He abſolved the ſubjects of the emperour from their oath of fidelity, and endeavoured to arm all Europe againſt a prince who was more deteſtable in his eyes than the muſſulmen, and devoted to this war all the money and troops that had been raiſed for a new cruſade. He publickly accuſed Frederick of having repreſented Moſes and Jeſus Chriſt as impoſtors, like Mahomet; of having ranked Jeſus Chriſt, crucified, far below the two others who died in glory; of having ſaid, that it was nonſenſe to believe that a creating God could be born of a woman, a virgin, &c. The emperour juſtified his faith by a writing, wherein he retorted inſult for inſult, calling Gregory *the Great Dragon, Antichriſt, another Balaam, a Prince of Darkneſs*. As France was upon the point of engaging in the quarrel, it is neceſſary to ſhew the ſtate of the kingdom at that time.

1239. Gregory perſecutes him anew on account of Sardinia.

Their mutual reproaches.

Philip Auguſtus, the firſt who reſtored the royal authority, and the firſt who had hired troops, or kept an army on foot in time of peace, died in the year 1223, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Louis VIII. who reigned but a ſhort time.

Under Louis VIII. a new act of injuſtice done to the count de Toulouſe.

time. Being engaged in the cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, he ſeized the dominions of young Raimond, count de Toulouſe, who had been excommunicated as a heretick, by a legate of Honorius III. though the pope had lately received him into the pale of the church. An accuſation of hereſy greatly depended upon circumſtances, and was a weapon kept in reſerve to ruin the unfortunate. This king died at his return from his expedition, in the year 1226.

End of the affair of the Albigenſes, under St. Louis.

Louis IX. better known by the name of St. Louis, was then only twelve years old. The prudent ſteadineſs of the regent, Blanche of Caſtile, his mother, quieted the diſturbances occaſioned by the ambition of ſome of his vaſſals. The affair of the Albigenſes was terminated in a manner conformable to the prevailing prejudices, rather than according to juſtice and humanity. Raimond did not obtain peace, but by promiſing to extirpate the hereticks, to make the *amende honourable* in his ſhirt, and to give a part of his dominions to the pope and to the king; he was then admitted into the pale of the church, and received abſolution: By this means the Holy See acquired the Venaiſſin, which is in the interiour part of the kingdom. It muſt be owned, that ſuch acquiſitions were worthy of the barbarous ages.

The pope gains the *combat*.

Henry III. king of England, hateful to his ſubjects.

Henry III. king of England, a weak, volatile, and imprudent prince, whoſe reign was a continued ſeries of rebellions and diſturbances, became odious to his ſubjects, by giving himſelf up to the management of ſome greedy foreigners, natives of Poitou, who ruled him as they pleaſed.

pleaſed. In hopes of recovering Normandy, and the other provinces which had been loſt to France, he joined the count de Bretagne, to make war againſt that country, which he carried on in a manner equally cowardly and unſucceſsful; nor could he prevent St. Louis from eſtabliſhing his authority more and more every day.

The clergy reſtrained in France.

Notwithſtanding the piety of that great prince, in a ſuperſtitious age, he ſaw that the eccleſiaſtical power was abſurd, and had ſteadineſs to oppoſe it, without loſing the reſpect due to the church. The temporalities of ſome biſhops were ſeized, as a puniſhment for cenſures and odious interdicts which they had fulminated from views of intereſt or revenge. The court of Rome, whoſe enterpriſes were of more fatal tendency, did not find that blind prejudice in Louis, which was neceſſary for their ſupport.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Continuation of the QUARRELS *raiſed by the* POPES *againſt* FREDERICK II.—GOVERNMENT *of* ST. LOUIS *before his firſt Cruſade.*

1240. St. Louis refuſes the empire offered by Gregory IX.

GREGORY IX. wrote into France that he had excommunicated Frederick, and given the empire to the count d'Artois, the brother of St. Louis. The prudent king not only refuſed a gift which the pope had no right to beſtow, but replied, that this offer was evidently the effect of hatred againſt the emperour, who had always appeared to him to be a good catholick; however, he would ſend ambaſſadours to be informed of his faith; if he found him orthodox, he could ſee no reaſon for attacking him; but if he found him a heretick, he would make war againſt him to the laſt extremity, as he would againſt the pope himſelf in the like caſe. After the cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, and the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition, was it to be doubted, that hereſy ought to be extirpated by the ſword? It was no ſmall matter to examine the true motive for ſo dangerous an imputation.

He ſuppoſes, however, that force ſhould be employed againſt the emperour, if a heretick.

Death of Gregory, who was unlucky in his attempts.

The war notwithſtanding continued between the pope and the emperour, and the legates every where extorted money to ſupport it, as if chriſtianity had been at ſtake. England groaned under their rapine, and even France did not eſcape.

eſcape. Gregory wanted to ſtrike the final blow at a council to which he had ſummoned the French biſhops, who obeyed his orders without meeting any obſtruction from the king; but Frederick having cauſed the road leading to Rome to be guarded, theſe prelates were ſeized, and the pope died with vexation at his diſappointment.

Foolish attempts to convert the muſſulmen.

His zeal for the converſion of the mahometans was nearly of the ſame nature with his violence againſt Frederick. He wrote long letters to a number of the princes of that religion, inviting them to embrace the chriſtian faith; at the ſame time threatening, if they perſiſted in their errour, to raiſe their chriſtian ſubjects in rebellion againſt them. His threatenings had no greater effect than the ſermons of St. Francis d'Aſſiſe, who at the ſiege of Damieta propoſed the ordeal by fire to the ſultan of Egypt, to prove which of the two was the true religion. They ſcarce condeſcended to give him a hearing.

1243. Innocent IV. choſen after a long vacancy.

Celeſtine IV. the ſucceſſor of Gregory IX. having died in a few days after he was elected, the Holy See continued vacant for almoſt two years, owing to the diſſenſions among the cardinals. The emperour wrote to them—"*All "the world declares that the father of lies and "diſcord ſits in the midſt of you, and not Jeſus "Chriſt, the author of peace; that each of you "aiming at the pontificate is unwilling that "it ſhould fall to another.*" At laſt cardinal Fieſco, who had formerly been his friend, was choſen by the name of Innocent IV. and, as

Frederick

Frederick had foreſeen and declared, became his enemy when he became pope. After fruitleſs negotiations that pontiff quitted Italy, from a ſuppoſition that his perſon was in danger. He ſued to the kings of France, Arragon, and England, for an aſylum, but they all refuſed to receive him: They ſuffered too much from the exactions and deſpotiſm of the court of Rome while at a diſtance, not to be afraid of its neighbourhood.

Three kings refuſe to receive him into their dominions.

England was particularly oppreſſed, moſt of the benefices being in the hands of Italians, whoſe revenues exceeded thoſe of the crown; for which reaſon the pope dreading a refuſal, employed fineſſe, and cauſed ſome of the cardinals to write to Henry III. in the following terms—"*As friends, we give you a piece of* "*advice which is both honourable and uſeful;* "*it is, to ſend ambaſſadours to the pope to in-* "*treat him to honour your kingdom, to which* "*he has a particular right, with his preſence,* "*and we will endeavour to prevail on him to* "*comply with your deſire. You will acquire* "*immortal honour, if England ſhould be the* "*reſidence of the ſovereign pontiff, which never* "*yet happened.*" The weak Henry fell into the ſnare, but he was diſſuaded by the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances.—*It is already too much,* ſaid the people to him, *that the Romans taint us with their ſimonies and uſuries, without the pope coming in perſon to rob the church and kingdom.*

England particularly oppreſſed by the court of Rome.

Henry III. is, however, almoſt the dupe of his artifices.

Innocent IV. retired to Lyons, a city which had been taken from the emperour by the archbiſhops,

1245. Council held at

biſhops, where he held a general council, in which he accuſed the emperour of perjury, ſacrilege, hereſy, and felony, and with a ſolemnity calculated to ſtrike terrour, pronounced the ſentence of excommunication and depoſition againſt him, without deigning to pay the leaſt attention to the promiſes of that prince. Frederick, by his ambaſſadours, obliged himſelf to repair all the injuries done to the Roman church; to endeavour to reduce the Greek church entirely under his authority; to go in perſon to reeſtabliſh the kingdom of Jeruſalem, which had been totally deſtroyed by the infidels: The kings of France and England to be his ſecurity. The pope refuſed them for guarantees, ſaying, that he ſhould be obliged to chaſtiſe them as well as Frederick, if he broke his word; and in that caſe the Holy See would have three powerful enemies inſtead of one.

Lyons againſt Frederick II.

The pope rejects his offers.

The eyes of the people began to be opened on the abuſe of anathemas fulminated againſt crowned heads, which became ridiculous by their abſurdity, and the odium they occaſioned. A pariſh prieſt in Paris ventured to ſay in his pulpit—"*I am commanded to publiſh the excom-*
"*munication againſt the emperour Frederick II.*
"*I do not know the occaſion; I only know that*
"*there have been great quarrels, and an irrec-*
"*oncileable hatred between him and the pope.*
"*Not knowing which of the two is in the wrong,*
"*I excommunicate, as far as I can, and hereby*
"*declare him excommunicated who hath done*
"*the injury, and I abſolve the ſufferer.*" Even the indecency of this raillery ſerves to prove, that

The eyes of the people begin to be opened.

Boldneſs of a pariſh prieſt in Paris.

that reaſon was riſing up to oppoſe tyrannical prejudices.

Reſolution of Frederick when depoſed.

The emperour received the news of his depoſition at Turin, and laying hold of his crown—*Much blood ſhall be ſpilt*, ſaid he, *before this be wreſted from me.* His chancellor, Peter de Vignes, wrote ſome angry letters in his name againſt the Romiſh clergy, in which he accuſed the princes of being the occaſion of ſuch exceſſes—*by obeying thoſe hypocrites, whoſe boundleſs ambition was not unknown to them.* However,

The German biſhops chooſe an emperour.

ſome German biſhops, excited by the legates to rebel, choſe the Landgrave of Thuringia emperour, who in raillery was called—*the king of the prieſts.* Conrad, the ſon of Frederick, having defeated the Thuringian, who did not long ſurvive, the ſame prelates elected the earl of Holland. The clergy of Germany were become ſo powerful, that theſe exceſſes were no longer a matter of ſurpriſe.

Death of Frederick II. in 1250.

Frederick II. who was perſecuted to his death, though he underwent an examination to purge himſelf from the crime of hereſy, which was imputed to him, always ſought an accommodation with the pope; but never being able to accompliſh it, was obliged to have recourſe to arms to defend his rights. He had reduced the rebels in Italy, when, it is ſaid, his baſtard ſon Manfredi poiſoned and ſmothered him in the year 1250. The reign of Conrad IV. his

Under Conrad IV. Italy ſhakes off the yoke.

lawful ſon and ſucceſſor, was a continued ſeries of trouble and misfortunes; the imperial authority grew every day weaker; the Italians and the kingdom of Arles rendered themſelves independent.

dependent. Neither the empire nor emperour were longer known, and every thing fell into the utmoſt diſorder.

St. Louis defeats the Engliſh, and reforms abuſes.

Let us return to St. Louis, who, from his good qualities and prudent government, may be eſteemed the greateſt prince of the age, and who cannot be charged with any faults, but ſuch as he was led into by the prevailing opinions of the time in which he lived. The count de la Marche entered into a rebellion againſt him, and was ſupported by the king of England; but two victories which he gained over the Engliſh at Taillebourg and Saintes, in the year 1242, having ſecured the peace of the kingdom, Louis dedicated all his attention to reform abuſes; an immenſe ſubject, and worthy to engage all his powers.

Regulations concerning fiefs.

One conſequence of the feudal anarchy was, that the ſame lord poſſeſſing fiefs both in France and England, was obliged to ſerve him of the two ſovereigns of whom he held the principal fief; and, of courſe, ſometimes to be the enemy of the king whoſe ſubject he was by birth. From the time that Normandy and ſome other provinces were reunited to the crown, this dreadful diſorder was not uncommon. To remedy this evil, Louis declared in the words of the goſpel, that one man could not ſerve two maſters; that he could not conſent that his vaſſals ſhould likewiſe be the vaſſals of a foreign prince, and that he gave them leave to chooſe between him and the king of England. Almoſt all the nobles who held fiefs in England renounced them, preferring the ſovereignty of a king

king who was equally ſteady and juſt, to that of a prince, like Henry III. who had neither power nor authority.

Violent zeal againſt hereticks.

But, unfortunately for France, Louis could not guard himſelf againſt ſome prejudices which had made dreadful havock. He favoured the tribunal of the inquiſition which was intruſted to the Dominicans, and already famous for its iniquitous barbarities. Being perſuaded that hereticks ought to be put to death, Louis could not fail to attach great merit to the war againſt the muſſulmen. He was ſeized with the ſanguinary devotion of the cruſades, and made all the wounds of the kingdom bleed afreſh. In a violent diſorder with which he was ſeized in the year 1244, he fancied that he was commanded by heaven to take the croſs; and, at his recovery from a lethargick fit, made a vow to accompliſh it, which he thought himſelf under an indiſpenſable obligation to fulfil, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of his mother, the nobles, and more particularly the biſhop of Paris, whoſe reaſons would have convinced any man leſs influenced by prejudice.

Louis makes a vow to take the croſs, and perſiſts to accompliſh it.

Preparations. Tax upon the church.

Near four years were ſpent in making preparations, and a tax was laid upon the clergy for that purpoſe. Innocent at the ſame time exacted one for the ſupport of the war againſt Frederick II. So loud were the murmurs of the clergy, that the king ſuppreſſed the laſt tax, as he ſaid he did not approve of ruining the benefices to fight againſt chriſtians; but unfortunately he ruined himſelf to be defeated by infidels.

A celebrated hiſtorian, attentive to important details, makes a curious obſervation in this place.—"*We may ſee, by the expenſes of St. Louis, how France was impoveriſhed by the cruſades. He gave eight thouſand livres to the lord of Valleri for thirty knights; the conſtable received three thouſand livres for fifteen; the archbiſhop of Reims and the biſhop of Langres received each of them four thouſand livres for fifteen knights, whom they commanded in perſon. A hundred and ſixty two knights ate at the king's table. Theſe expenſes and the preparations were immenſe.*" (Eſſai ſur l'Hiſt. Gener.) The nobles ſpent their fortunes in the cruſades, which likewiſe exhauſted the revenues of the crown.

Expenſe of the king for this expedition.

I am not unacquainted with what has been advanced in favour of thoſe enterpriſes by panegyriſts, who have diſplayed all the powers of eloquence to repreſent them in the moſt favourable light, either from political or religious views. There an orator may ſhine, but can he convince? Let even hiſtory allow, that the intentions of St. Bernard, St. Louis, and the reſt, were excellent; but that the cruſades could ſucceed in their circumſtances, can never be believed, when we reflect upon the manners, principles, governments, and the general or particular ſtate of Europe.

Could the cruſades ſucceed?

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Conqueſts of GENGHIZ KAN.—*Unfortunate Expedition of* ST. LOUIS *into* EGYPT.—*Rebellion in* ENGLAND *againſt* HENRY III.

Genghiz Kan made a revolution in Aſia.

ASIA had always been a theatre of revolutions, and lately changed its appearance. The Turkiſh dynaſty of the Coraſmins, the miſtreſs of Choraſſan towards the end of the eleventh century, had afterwards extended its conqueſts as far as Syria on the one hand, and to the heart of Tartary on the other, when the celebrated Genghiz Kan, or Genzis Kan, at the head of the Mogul or Mongol Tartars, came to erect upon the ruins of that vaſt empire another more powerful. He ſubdued Tartary, a great part of China and Indoſtan, and Perſia as far as the river Euphrates; his troops laid waſte Ruſſia, and, in one word, his conqueſts were ſuppoſed to extend above eighteen hundred leagues from Eaſt to Weſt, and a thouſand from South to North. He died at an advanced age, in the year 1226, when he was upon the point of reducing all China.

Diviſion of his empire.

His empire was divided among his four ſons. One of his grandſons ſeized that part of Aſia Minor which is at preſent called Natolia, and deſtroyed the ſovereignty of the califs of Bagdad; another, after having made Conſtantinople

nople tremble, carried the terrour of his arms into Dalmatia, and even into Hungary. Theſe ferocious Tartars, accuſtomed from their infancy to deſpiſe hunger, fatigue, and death, were invincible conquerors while they preſerved their rough and ſavage manners. We have ſeen the Huns and the Turks iſſue from the ſame deſarts, and theſe will again be followed by new hordes no leſs formidable.

The Coraſmins preſſed by the Tartars laid waſte Jeruſalem.

As the Goths had formerly thrown themſelves upon Thrace, when they were driven from their own country by the Huns, in like manner the Coraſmins, flying before the Mogul Tartars, poured upon Syria and Paleſtine, and took poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem in the year 1244, where they made a dreadful maſſacre, and cut in pieces the chriſtians who were in league with the ſultan of Damaſcus. The chriſtians preſerved Antioch, Tyre, Tripoli, Sidon, and Acre, or Ptolemais. Always at variance among themſelves, they ſued for aſſiſtance from Europe at the very time they were deſtroying one another by their quarrels and diſſenſions.

Ridiculous cruſade of children before that of St. Louis.

The farther we advance in the hiſtory of the cruſades, the more are we aſtoniſhed to ſee this madneſs continue, notwithſtanding the leſſons of experience. Towards the beginning of this century a queen of Hungary took the croſs, as did likewiſe fifty thouſand children, with a crowd of prieſts, becauſe, according to the ſcripture, God *has made children the inſtruments of his glory*. Upon occaſion of this ridiculous cruſade, Innocent III. prognoſticated that the power of Mahomet was near an end, *ſince*, ſaid he,

he, *it is the beaſt in the Revelations whoſe number is ſix hundred and ſixty ſix, and near ſix hundred years are already paſt.* All this ought not to be ſo ſurpriſing as the prejudice of a great prince in favour of enterpriſes, which had always proved fatal to ſtates, and never uſeful to the cauſe of religion.

1248. Unfortunate expedition of that prince into Egypt.

Louis embarked with a great army, and inſtead of going on to Paleſtine attacked Egypt. At firſt he performed prodigies of valour, gained a victory, and took Damieta; but afterwards he experienced nothing but misfortunes. In the year 1250, being defeated at Maſſoura, where his brother the count d'Artois was killed, he made a fruitleſs attempt to repair this misfortune. His army, weakened by debauchery, was reduced to extremity by want and diſeaſes.

He is made priſoner.

He again fought, and with all his nobility was made priſoner by the muſſulmen. The city of Damieta, and a million of byzantines of gold, valued at a hundred thouſand marks of ſilver, were demanded for his ranſom. "A king of France, he replied, does not redeem himſelf with money;" but he gave the city for his own ranſom, and the money for that of his ſubjects,

His fruitleſs expedition into Paleſtine.

and concluded a truce of ten years. Being fettered in Paleſtine by his devotions, he loſt four years in a fruitleſs attempt of freeing Jeruſalem; and was leſs affected with the wants of his kingdom, which had been repreſented to him in the ſtrongeſt colours, than with this chimerical purſuit. Such efficacy have pious illuſions, that they can withdraw the beſt hearts from the road of their common duties!

Happily

His mother oppoſes a cruſade againſt Conrad.

Happily Blanche of Caſtile, the king's mother, governed the kingdom with prudence in quality of regent. The Dominicans and Franciſcans, who were zealous emiſſaries of Innocent IV. preached up a cruſade againſt the emperour Conrad, when the indulgences were extended even to the fathers and mothers of all who ſhould take the croſs; but ſhe had the ſteadineſs to contend againſt the abſurdity and injuſtice of the attempt. She gave orders that the lands of all thoſe that enrolled themſelves ſhould be confiſcated—"*Let the pope, ſince he will make war*, ſaid ſhe, *provide his own army*."

Fanaticiſm of the paſtorals.

In the mean time the people were ſeized with a new ſpecies of fanaticiſm. The ſame man who occaſioned the cruſade of the children, preached up one in the name of the angels and the holy virgin, to the ſhepherds and peaſants, promiſing them wonderful ſucceſs. He very ſoon muſtered a hundred thouſand men to follow the ſtandard of the croſs, who were called *the paſtorals*. The regent at firſt hoped they were deſigned as a reinforcement for her ſon; but they were only a band of robbers, whom it was found neceſſary to exterminate.

1254. The king's return neceſſary to France.

The death of that illuſtrious princeſs at laſt determined Louis to return to his dominions, where his zeal for juſtice, his application to correct abuſes, his laws, and his own example, repaired the evils which had been occaſioned by his long abſence. His politicks were regulated by rectitude and diſintereſtedneſs, which, perhaps, he carried too great a length. He

has been cenſured for giving up ſome provinces that belonged to the crown; but the motive of ſuch a generous ſacrifice, inſpired by a love of peace, and looked upon by ſome reſpectable authors as advantageous in his ſituation, deſerves commendation.

He gives up Rouſſillon and Catalonia to the king of Arragon.

James I. king of Arragon, whoſe daughter Iſabella was married to Philip the Hardy, one of the ſons of France, laid claim to a number of arrear fiefs belonging to the crown, in Provence and Languedock, though his pretenſions were moſtly ill founded; Louis, in exchange for them, yielded to him his inconteſtible rights on Rouſſillon and Catalonia, which had belonged to the French monarchy ever ſince the conqueſt of Charlemagne. The year after he reſtored Limouſin, Perigord, Querci, and Agenois, to the king of England, upon condition of his paying him liege homage; without receiving any thing in exchange but a renunciation of the claims of the Engliſh kings to Normandy and the other confiſcated provinces. The validity of the confiſcation ſeemed to him unqueſtionable; he had plauſible reaſons for ſeizing the reſt of Guienne; and Henry, ſtruggling with his barons, could not have reſiſted. To account for this laſt treaty, we muſt loſe ſight of all the political maxims of courts; and the king certainly acted rather like an honeſt man than an able prince.

He reſtores ſeveral confiſcated provinces to the king of England.

Rebellion of the Engliſh barons.

With matchleſs magnanimity he attempted to quiet the diſturbances in England, which a Philip Auguſtus in his place would have turned to his own advantage. The Engliſh barons, not

not from zeal for the publick, but from a ſpirit of faction and independence, had revolted againſt the weak Henry, upon a pretence that he had violated *magna charta*, that he tyrannized over the people, and ſacrificed every thing to foreign favourites. In the year 1258 they held a parliament in Oxford, where they formed a council of twenty four, who governed like deſpots; of theſe the earl of Leiceſter, ſon of the famous earl of Mountfort, was chief, and the king a mere cypher; but the tyranny of theſe pretended reformers, their quarrels and diſſenſions, procured him the means of recovering his authority. Pope Alexander IV. declared againſt the barons, becauſe they expelled the Italians, who had been in poſſeſſion of benefices; but Henry very ſoon fell back to his former ſituation, and a civil war being rekindled, the king of France was choſen arbiter: Both parties ſwore to ſubmit to his deciſion. What more honourable proof of reſpect could be paid to virtue?

1264. St. Louis choſen to decide the diſputes in England.

St. Louis pronounced in favour of the royal authority, annulled the ſtatutes of Oxford, and whatever had been the conſequence of their being paſſed; but at the ſame time declaring, that he did not mean to diminiſh the liberties of the people, nor to encroach upon the charters of the nation. This equitable ſentence was eluded by the inſurgents, and Leiceſter declared, that the deciſion ought to be interpreted againſt the king, as the ſtatutes paſſed at Oxford were founded on *magna charta*. The paſſions are never without an excuſe, and the

His ſentence eluded by the barons.

Henry III. a priſoner, ſaved by his ſon.

rebels took up arms; when Henry, who was defeated and made priſoner at the battle of Lewes, would have irrecoverably loſt his crown, if it had not been for his heroick ſon Edward, who gained the battle of Eveſham, in which Leiceſter was killed.

Origin of the Houſe of Commons in England.

This ambitious head of his party, on purpoſe to attach the Engliſh to his perſon, whom he already governed as a ſovereign, introduced two knights of each county, and ſome deputies from the boroughs, into parliament; the undoubted origin of the *Houſe of Commons*, to which eſtabliſhment Edward I. put the ſeal in 1295, on purpoſe to obtain ſubſidies.

CHAP. VI.

The Houſe of ANJOU *eſtabliſhed on the Throne of the* TWO SICILIES *by* CLEMENT IV.—*End of the Reign of* ST. LOUIS.

Conrad IV. triumphs over Innocent IV.

WE now approach the period in which the houſe of Suabia was finally cruſhed by the perſevering hatred of the popes. After the death of Frederick II. Innocent IV. immediately ſeized a part of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily; gave or ſold that crown to the king of England, in favour of prince Edmund, one of his ſons, and ruined the Engliſh for a conqueſt which did not ſucceed. The emperour Conrad IV. defeated the pontifical army;—he inherited

inherited the courage of his father, but died in the year 1254, being, it is ſaid, likewiſe poiſoned by the inhuman Manfredi, his natural brother.

After Conrad William earl of Holland is emperour;

William earl of Holland, whom the eccleſiaſtical faction had elected emperour, though the court of Rome had not been able to ſupport him, from that time got poſſeſſion of the throne; but his weakneſs increaſed that of the imperial dignity. Attempting to reduce the rebels of Frieſland, he was ſurprized and killed in the year 1256. Richard, the brother of Henry III. king of England, by means of his money procured himſelf to be elected emperour; but when his treaſures were exhauſted his power vaniſhed, and he quitted Germany, where both princes and people were made miſerable by anarchy.

and after him Richard, the king of England's brother.

Manfredi uſurps the kingdom of the Two Sicilies from his nephew Conradine.

The kingdom of Naples and Sicily was in a particular manner expoſed to a revolution from the intrigues of the court of Rome. Manfredi reigned there in quality of guardian to the young Conradine, ſon of the emperour Conrad. Though at firſt ſubmiſſive in appearance to Innocent IV. he was very ſoon obliged to defend the royal privileges againſt the attacks of the pope, and the rupture brought on new wars. Alexander IV. who ſucceeded Innocent, according to cuſtom, cauſed a cruſade to be preached up for the advantage of the Holy See; but the cruſaders being defeated, Manfredi openly ſupplanted his nephew, uſurped the throne of the Two Sicilies, and was crowned at Palermo in the year 1258.

If

The court of Rome offers that crown to St. Louis, who refuſes it.

If the popes had added juſtice to policy, while they proſecuted an odious uſurper, they would have protected a ward who was baſely ſtript of his dominions; but Conradine being heir of the houſe of Suabia, loſt thoſe titles which were due to him by the rules of juſtice and humanity. Urban IV. the ſon of a mechanick in Champagne, made an offer of that kingdom to St. Louis, for one of the children of France, though it had been already given to Edmund; but that wiſe king examining his conſcience, did not believe that he could accept the property of another. His brother Charles, count d'Anjou, whoſe principles were not ſo refined, very ſoon accepted it for himſelf; and though Urban died, the tranſaction was completed by his ſucceſſor Clement IV. a gentleman of Languedock.

1265. Charles count of Anjou accepts it upon ſhameful conditions.

The conditions of that treaty unmaſked the politicks of the court of Rome, for the whole tranſaction tended to promote the intereſt of the pontificate. The ancient privileges of Sicily were annihilated; the prince engaged to pay an annual tribute of eight thouſand ounces of gold, under pain of excommunication if the payment was deferred two months, and even depoſition if the whole ſum was not paid in ſix months after the appointed time. He likewiſe engaged himſelf never to accept the empire, Lombardy, nor Tuſcany, whoſe union with Naples and Sicily had brought ſo many misfortunes upon the houſe of Suabia; to leave the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction entire, with the freedom of appeal to the Holy See; not to allow

any

any of the clergy to be ſubject to taxation, or to ſecular tribunals, &c. The oath of fidelity bears, that he ſhall be obedient to his lord the pope; that he ſhall not form any alliance which may be injurious to him; and if he ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to form ſuch, through ignorance, he ſhall renounce it upon receiving the firſt order. This was to accept the ſhadow of royalty.

1266. He takes poſſeſſion of the kingdom.

What is perhaps more ſurpriſing, St. Louis, either from reſpect to the pope, or complaiſance to his brother, approved this treaty, and permitted a cruſade to be preached againſt Manfredi. The count d'Anjou very ſoon paſſed into Italy, where nothing could reſiſt him, and Manfredi fell at the battle of Benevento. Conradine, who was ſtill very young, attempted to recover his patrimony, and came into the country accompanied by the duke of Auſtria. Though excommunicated by Clement, who called him *a ſhoot of an accurſed race*, he was received in Rome, where the Gibeline party prevailed; but king Charles having defeated and taken him priſoner in 1268, formed a tribunal for his trial, when he and the duke of Auſtria were condemned to loſe their heads on a ſcaffold: A horrid ſentence, which was executed at Naples.

Conradine cruelly treated.

Clement IV. cauſes a multitude of cruſades to be preached up.

Nothing can ſerve better to ſhew the influence of ſuperſtition and cuſtom on the fate of nations, than the cruſades preached up by order of Clement IV. A cruſade in Spain againſt the Moors, whom he wiſhed to exterminate; a cruſade in Hungary, Bohemia, and other places, againſt

againſt the Tartars, whoſe invaſions were dreaded; a cruſade in favour of the Teutonick knights againſt the pagans of Livonia, Pruſſia, and Courland, over whom they wanted to reign; a cruſade in England againſt the barons, whom Henry III. could not ſubdue; a cruſade in France and Italy, to take the kingdom of Naples and Sicily from the houſe of Suabia; and an univerſal cruſade for the conqueſt of the Holy Land. Theſe cruſades were frequently in oppoſition to one another; the vow for one was abſolved when the execution of another was thought of greater moment; indulgences were ſcattered at the will of the pope; the different countries were exhauſted by the expenſes of war, and all Europe was ſet in a flame by the papal bulls. This practice had been a long time continued.

1270. St. Louis again led away by prejudice.

St. Louis, who made France happy by his prudent government, ſuffered himſelf to be led away a ſecond time by the prejudices of the age in which he lived, and thought it a duty to leave his kingdom to go and fight once more againſt the infidels. The intention was ſo evidently pernicious, that even Joinville, who had been one of the moſt zealous promoters of the former cruſade, aſſures us, that they who inſpired the good king with the deſign, were accuſed of being guilty of a mortal ſin; but Louis gave the reins to his own ideas with enthuſiaſm, and after having made great preparations, at laſt embarked. He went into Africa, where, it is ſaid, he hoped to make the king of Tunis embrace the chriſtian religion, while, on

His expedition and death in Africa.

the

the contrary, the Muſſulman threatened to murder the chriſtian captives. Diſeaſes got into his army; the hero witneſſed the death of one of his ſons, ſaw another in danger, and died himſelf amidſt the general conſternation at the age of fifty ſix.

In 1269, he publiſhed a famous *pragmatick*, which bears, that the ordinary patrons of benefices ſhall enjoy their rights; that the affairs relating to benefices ſhall be regulated by the common right; that the exactions by which the court of Rome *has unhappily ruined France, ſhall no more be levied, except for juſt and reaſonable cauſes in caſes of urgent neceſſity*, and with the expreſs conſent of the king and the church. His law againſt the uſurpations of the court of Rome.

The popes every where commanding as ſovereigns, themſelves making or cauſing wars to be made, having need of money to ſupport their political views, arbitrarily levied taxes upon foreign churches; they aſſumed the nomination to benefices, which they beſtowed on their own courtiers, and in ſome degree appropriated to themſelves the wealth, which, from motives of religion, had been laviſhed upon all the churches of Europe. This abuſe was carried ſo far in England, that, according to the remonſtrances made by Henry's ambaſſadours at the council of Lyons, the Italian clergy had a revenue of ſixty thouſand marks, which was more than that of the crown. France was equally oppreſſed; and notwithſtanding the pragmatick of St. Louis, ſhe was more ſo after his reign, when ſchiſm brought the popes into the kingdom. Kingdoms ruined by the extortions of the popes, eſpecially England.

That

Right of appeal to the royal courts.

That prince deſerved to be called a legiſlator. He firmly eſtabliſhed the right of appeal to the royal courts, which was one of the beſt expedients for weakening the exceſſive power of the nobles.

Private wars and duels prohibited.

He abſolutely prohibited private wars, which feudal anarchy had rendered lawful; proofs at law were ſubſtituted to duels; but diſorders ſtill prevailed a long time over legiſlation; and beſides, theſe regulations extended no farther than over the provinces which belonged to the royal domain.

Faults committed by St. Louis, owing to the prejudices of the age.

The prejudices of that canonized monarch, that is, the errours of his time, ſometimes inſpired him with too great lenity, at others with too much ſeverity. He ſupported the Mendicant friars, Dominicans and Franciſcans, who diſturbed the univerſity of Paris, where they affected independence, deſpiſed all epiſcopal authority, declaring themſelves dependent only upon Rome; and whom the Roman pontiffs rendered triumphant, by oppreſſing their adverſaries with excommunications. He favoured the inquiſition, which by its illegal proceedings was ſo injurious to the peace of the people; which, from its origin, was ſo cruel, that it ſeemed to be inſatiable of heretical blood; and, at laſt, he expoſed the kingdom to be the victim of the cruſades. With an eminent degree of virtue, what errours may we not fall into when reaſon is overpowered by prejudices! But how great was Louis in other reſpects, when he roſe equally above vice and prejudices!

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

End of the CRUSADES.—RODOLPHUS *of Hapſburg Emperour.*—REVOLUTIONS *in* SICILY, *where the Houſe of* ARRAGON *acquired an Eſtabliſhment.*

THE cruſades were at laſt at an end; not that this madneſs did not frequently rekindle by the ſuggeſtions of the court of Rome, but European armies no more paſſed into Aſia and Africa for the triumph of the croſs. The Latin empire of Conſtantinople was already deſtroyed, and the emperour Baldwin II. of the houſe of Courtenai, whoſe dominion was confined almoſt within the limits of the city, had been dethroned and expelled in the year 1261, by Michael Paleologus, the tutor and oppreſſor of John Laſcaris, to whom the Greek empire belonged, and whoſe eyes were put out by Paleologus.

End of the cruſades.

Michael Paleologus drives the French from Conſtantinople.

The uſurper on purpoſe to ſecure his dominion, artfully pretended to ſubject his church to that of Rome. The vanity and jealouſy of the Greeks could not conſent to it, and we ſhall ſee the ſame project frequently attempted, but always miſcarry. That nation was ſo wedded to ſilly ſuperſtitions, that on purpoſe to put an end to a ſchiſm between two patriarchs, they threw the memorials of both parties into the fire, from a perſuaſion that the truth would be made known by a miracle. The fire conſumed the whole, but experience could not inform the minds

Fruitleſs attempt to reunite the two churches.

Superſtition of the Greeks.

minds of men who were equally vain and credulous. The empire of Conſtantinople fell gradually into decay, till totally overthrown by the Turks.

Anarchy in Germany after the death of Frederick II.

After the death of Frederick II. that of Germany fell a prey to anarchy. The emperour Richard, brother of the king of England, quitted a country in which he only held an empty title, and died in the year 1271, when an interregnum took place, which continued two years, and completed the deſtruction of the imperial domain. The tributary nations, Denmark, Poland, and Hungary, abſolutely ſhook off the yoke; each of them taking poſſeſſion of what lay moſt convenient for them; freeing themſelves from quitrents and every obligation by which they thought themſelves under reſtraint, and leaving nothing to the emperours but their paternal inheritance.

Beginning of the imperial law.

In theſe times of anarchy the political law of Germany began to emerge from confuſion; we now find the college of electors, that of the princes, the deputies of the free cities, and the body of the *immediate nobility*, who hold of no prince but the emperour. From the beginning of the twelfth century, the three primates of the *Rheniſh* province, ſo called, from its being ſituated on the banks of the Rhine (Treves, Mentz, and Cologne) jointly with the dukes enjoyed the famous right of *pretaxation*, chooſing the emperour among themſelves before he was propoſed to the diet. This is the origin of the electoral dignity, which was more firmly eſtabliſhed, becauſe, in theſe times of diſturb-

Origin of the electors.

aance

ance and depredations, the other princes did not care to put themſelves to conſiderable expenſe for confirming elections which they had no ſhare in making. There was no publick law in favour of the ſeven electors; but their privilege was founded upon cuſtom and contingencies, nor have the greateſt part of the ancient rights any other foundation.

Free cities and imperial cities.

Formerly taxes were paid to the emperour by the imperial cities, from which they endeavoured to free themſelves by taking advantage of the anarchy that prevailed at this time, and aſſumed the title of *free cities*, to diſtinguiſh them from a great number of new imperial cities which they admitted into their body; and thus the *Hanſeatick* league was formed. In the year 1241, Lubeck entered into a league with its neighbours for the ſecurity of commerce, and four ſcore flouriſhing cities very ſoon joined this confederacy, which is reduced at preſent to Lubeck, Hamburg and Bremen.

Hanſeatick league.

1273. Rodolphus of Hapſburg choſen emperour.

They were at laſt tired of anarchy, and Gregory X. who ſucceeded Clement IV. having threatened to name an Emperour if they did not chooſe one, they elected Rodolphus, count of Hapſburg, the deſcendant of an old count of Alſace. He had ſerved Ottocar, king of Bohemia, in quality of marſhal of the court, or grand maſter of the houſehold. His want of power was the cauſe of his elevation, for the electors did not diſſemble their deſire of having an emperour, but not a maſter. This is the period from whence the luſtre of the houſe of Auſtria is derived. Rodolphus I. by his abili-

ties,

ties, ſupplied thoſe reſources which his domain could not furniſh. We muſt obſerve here, that the revenue of his new dignity, which amounted to ſix millions of crowns in the time of Frederick Barbaroſſa, did not exceed a third of that ſum, and is ſo diminiſhed ſince, that an emperour has not more than twenty thouſand florins of ſettled revenue.

Election of Rodolphus confirmed by the pope;

In a general council held at Lyons in the year 1274, where there was an apparent reunion of the Greek and Roman churches, the election of Rodolphus was confirmed by the pope, who drew from him a freſh renunciation of the dominions of the counteſs Matilda. In a ſhort time after, they quarrelled, when the emperour

who excommunicated him ſoon after.

was excommunicated becauſe he maintained his right of ſovereignty over the Italian cities, and neglected to fulfil a vow of going to the cruſade, that he might attend to the affairs of the empire.

Rodolphus makes war againſt Ottocar king of Bohemia.

This excommunication did not prevent him from laying the foundation of the grandeur of his family. He ſummoned Ottocar, king of Bohemia, to reſtore the dutchies of Auſtria, Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, with which he had been inveſted without the conſent of the electors; but Ottocar inſultingly replied, *that he owed nothing to Rodolphus, to whom he had paid his wages:* Upon which war was immediately declared, and the king of Bohemia fell in an action near Vienna. The emperour gave the inveſtiture of Auſtria and ſome other dutchies to

The imperial family enriched with the ſpoils of Ottocar.

his eldeſt ſon Albert, and at the ſame time, to his youngeſt ſon Rodolphus the remains of the

dutchy

dutchy of Suabia, but ſo diſmembered, that the prince could not have the title of duke. The electors refuſed to chooſe Albert king of the Romans, ſaying, that the empire was not able to ſupport two chiefs.

Several Italian cities, Lucca, Florence, Genoa, and Bologna, purchaſed, for ſmall ſums, that liberty which circumſtances did not allow the emperour to wreſt from them.

Liberty purchaſed by ſome Italian cities.

That ſpirit of faction and rebellion with which the Italians in general were animated, produced ſome atrocious ſcenes, and a fatal revolution in Sicily. Charles of Anjou had rendered himſelf odious by the ſeverity of his government, and the licentiouſneſs of his provençals (he was count of Provence) continually increaſed the grievances of a ſeditious people. John de Procida, a gentleman whom they had ſtripped of his fortune, formed ſome ſchemes of revenge, which his activity and addreſs made him capable of executing.

Conſpiracy of Procida againſt Charles of Anjou.

Peter III. king of Arragon, and ſon in law of Manfredi, had ſome claims upon Sicily, and Procida eaſily prevailed with him to undertake the conqueſt. Pope Nicholas III. and Michael Paleologus, emperour of Conſtantinople, entered into the conſpiracy. This dangerous Italian, diſguiſed in the habit of a cordelier, ſtirred up the people to join in a rebellion, which broke out by a maſſacre called the *Sicilian veſpers*, when almoſt all the Frenchmen in Sicily were murdered in one day. The ſlaughter began at Palermo on Eaſter Monday, at the hour of veſpers, to which a Frenchman gave

1282. He perſuades the king of Arragon and the pope to enter into his views.

Sicilian veſpers, or maſſacre of the French.

gave occaſion by an inſult offered to a woman. So dreadful was their rage, that they ripped up the bellies of the women whom they ſuppoſed with child by Frenchmen: Even prieſts and monks committed ſimilar barbarities; for ſuperſtition, as almoſt always happens in ſuch circumſtances, rendered the national hatred more atrocious.

Peter III. king of Arragon, makes himſelf maſter of Sicily.

Peter III. with a conſiderable fleet, waited the iſſue upon the coaſt of Africa, and when he arrived, was acknowledged king by the Sicilians, notwithſtanding the anathemas of a new pope, Martin IV. a Frenchman by birth, and a favourer of the family of France. Philip the Hardy, who ſucceeded St. Louis, ſent an army to the aſſiſtance of king Charles; when the king of Arragon, on the verge of deſtruction, made an offer of deciding the diſpute by duel in a neutral country; but this was only with a view of gaining time. Charles, who was more brave, but leſs artful, accepted the challenge, and came to the place appointed in Guienne, where he did not find his antagoniſt, who was ſaid to have ſhewn himſelf there, but in diſguiſe, only with a view of producing a proof of his having made his appearance. Charles very ſoon found himſelf unable to recover what he had loſt; for Naples had revolted in his abſence, and his ſon fell into the hands of the enemy.

1285. Cruſade againſt that prince.

Martin, obſerving that the king of Arragon deſpiſed the thunders of the church, gave his kingdom to the count de Valois, ſecond ſon of king Philip, upon condition (as may be ſuppoſed)

poſed) of doing homage, and paying tribute to the Holy See. He publiſhed a cruſade for the execution of his bull, when a French army, equally deſirous of indulgences and plunder, entered Spain, and committed every ſort of outrage, without reſpecting either women or churches; but being almoſt deſtroyed by diſeaſes, was forced to retreat. Philip the Hardy died at Perpignan, on his return from this unfortunate expedition, in the year 1286. Pope Martin died the year before, as did Charles of Anjou, and Peter III. Charles II. of Anjou, ſurnamed the Lame, preſerved Naples, but reſigned Anjou and Maine to the count de Valois, to make him a recompenſe for the kingdom of Arragon, which he was obliged to renounce. Notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the ſovereign pontiffs, Sicily was formed into a ſeparate kingdom for James, youngeſt ſon of Peter, and the eldeſt, Alphonſo III. was put in poſſeſſion of Arragon.

Charles II. of Anjou preſerves only Naples.

CHAP. VIII.

State of SPAIN *during the Thirteenth Century.*

AS Spain comes now to bear a part in the general affairs of Europe, we ſhall collect the principal events of its hiſtory in this place, before we enter upon a new epocha.

The chriſtians ſtill divided.

That country was ſtill divided at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the chriſtians, who ought to have been induced by their common intereſt to unite againſt the Moors, carried on the moſt cruel wars againſt each other. Sancho VII. king of Navarre, went to Morocco, in hope of marrying the daughter of the Miramolin; but was diſappointed, and, at his return, found that the kings of Caſtile and Arragon had ſeized part of his dominions.

They join againſt the Moors.

Theſe three princes, ſeeing the Moors upon the point of renewing their conqueſts, united, and gained the famous victory of Toloſa in the year 1212, where the loſs of the enemy was computed by ocular witneſſes to amount to almoſt two hundred thouſand men, while they reduced that of the chriſtians to twenty five. This is one of thoſe caſes in which we cannot truſt to hiſtorical evidence; yet theſe witneſſes do not mention the miraculous croſs which was ſeen in the ſky, according to later traditions, and which is ſtill celebrated annually at Toledo, by a feſtival called the *Triumph of the croſs*. The victory, though ſuppoſed not to be at-

Battle of Toloſa in 1212.

tended

tended with any miraculous circumſtances, deſerves to be celebrated, and would have been attended with very important conſequences, if the military art had been better known, or if it had been poſſible to continue the army longer in the field; for armies generally diſperſed almoſt immediately after an action. Peter II. king of Arragon, was killed next year at the battle of Muret, fighting for his brother in law the count De Toulouſe, who had been the victim of the cruſade againſt the Albigenſes. Alphonſo IX. king of Leon and Caſtile, likewiſe died in the year 1214, after having taken Alcantara from the muſſulmen.

It was not followed by any important conſequences.

Diſturbances were renewed, when to faction and civil war were added violent diſputes with the ſecular clergy, in ſome countries where they refuſed to pay any ſhare of the publick burdens, as alſo with the Dominicans, who wanted to judge in criminal affairs. The inquiſition was eſtabliſhed, which rendered the manners of the times ſtill more barbarous. We cannot fail to be deeply affected when we read of Ferdinand III. or Ferdinand the Holy, king of Caſtile, kindling with his own hands the flames deſtined to conſume hereticks.

Diſputes with the clergy.

The inquiſition eſtabliſhed.

That prince had taken Cordova in the year 1236, which the Moors had poſſeſſed more than five hundred years, and afterwards made a fruitleſs attempt upon Grenada; but, however, the kings of Murcia and Grenada were ſo intimidated by his arms, that they acknowledged themſelves his vaſſals. His grandeur and reputation were raiſed to the higheſt pitch, by

St. Ferdinand (III.) makes himſelf maſter of Cordova and Seville.

the taking of Seville in the year 1248. Three hundred thouſand Moors are ſaid to have quitted the place, and were permitted to retire to the enemy, whoſe number they increaſed, when found policy would have diſperſed them among the chriſtian towns; but how could they have been tolerated by the inquiſition?

Miracles with which the Spaniards ornament their hiſtories.

Some Spaniſh hiſtorians have embelliſhed the victories of thoſe times by prodigies, with which the honour of the nation might have diſpenſed. Sometimes the chriſtians were animated with the appearance of a ſplendid croſs in the ſky; ſometimes by St. James at the head of the troops ſtriking terrour into the infidels; ſometimes the ſun ſtopping, as if by the orders of another Joſhua, to give time for cutting the vanquiſhed in pieces. Kings however were not ſo blinded by credulity, as not to ſee the views of the court of Rome. In one ſenſe, Ferdinand the Holy did more than St. Louis; he received Sancho II. king of Portugal, who was depoſed by Innocent IV. into his dominions, and aſſiſted him with his troops; but the bull of excommunication being publiſhed in his camp by the monks, his whole army took flight. This ſingle anecdote is ſufficient to ſhew the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the populace.

Ferdinand the Holy protects a king depoſed by Innocent IV.

James I. king of Arragon excommunicated by the ſame pope.

James I. king of Arragon, famous for his conqueſt of the iſlands of Minorca and Majorca, and by that of Valencia in 1238, cauſed the biſhop of Girona's tongue to be cut out, whom he accuſed of having revealed his confeſſion. The king was therefore excommunicated by Innocent IV. and two legates, who were

were ſent from Rome, refuſed to abſolve him till he made a publick confeſſion of his guilt in preſence of a council. That prince, who was ſo formidable to the Moors, gave his ſubjects a code to determine their law proceedings, which were too uncertain. Ferdinand the Holy was likewiſe a legiſlator: He inſtituted the royal council of Caſtile, and began the body of laws called *las partidas*, to which his ſucceſſor Alphonſo X. ſurnamed the Wiſe, put the laſt hand. On purpoſe to attach the nobles to the crown, who were but too frequently its enemies, Ferdinand created, or revived, ſome offices, which were eminently diſtinguiſhed by their privileges, ſuch as the *adelantado* (viceroy) the *alferez mayor* (great ſtandard bearer of the kingdom) *amirante* (or admiral) and the grand-maſter of the king's houſehold. This was the policy of the kings of Cordova; and it has been remarked, that the Spaniards have in ſome degree borrowed their cuſtoms and ceremonial from the Moors. An obſervation ſtill more deſerving our attention, is, that the conquerors of Spain had been corrupted by pride, luxury, and effeminacy, by which empires are overthrown, eſpecially when the foundations are undermined by diſcord.

Laws of that prince and of Ferdinand the Holy.

The cuſtoms of that court borrowed from the Moors.

The reign of Alphonſo the Wiſe, from the year 1252 to 1284, deſerves to be celebrated as a period remarkably favourable to the ſciences. That prince founded ſeveral profeſſorſhips in the univerſity of Salamanca; in particular two of natural philoſophy; he publiſhed the aſtronomical tables, known by the name of *Alphonſine*;

Reign of Alphonſo X. the Wiſe in Caſtile.

He cultivates and promotes ſcience.

ſine; he was ſufficiently learned to perceive the falſity of the aſtronomical ſyſtems of his own time; which made him ſay, on ſuppoſition that ſuch ſyſtems were well founded, that *if God had called him to his council, the world would have been more ſimple and more perfect.* We are indebted to him for the firſt hiſtory of Spain, in the Caſtilian language, in which he likewiſe gave orders, that all publick acts ſhould be written. The trivial expreſſion, which has been made uſe of with regard to him, *that the ſtudy of the heavens had made him loſe the earth*, is, according to M. de Voltaire, very ill applied: But, however, it is certain, that Alphonſo brought misfortunes upon himſelf, if not by neglecting his affairs, at leaſt by purſuing an object beyond his reach.

Being choſen emperour, he commits great faults, through ambition.

Being choſen emperour, in the year 1257, by a party that oppoſed Richard, he was the more zealous to maintain his election, as he alleged he was the heir of the houſe of Suabia, in right of his mother. He debaſed the coin, oppreſſed the people with taxes, and excited a general diſſatisfaction to gratify a fatal ambition. The adherents, whom he purchaſed at Rome and in Germany, procured him no ſolid advantage, while he expoſed himſelf to the hatred and rebellion of his Caſtilian ſubjects. He fruitleſsly proteſted againſt the election of Rodolphus of Hapſburg, at a council held at Lyons, in the year 1274: In vain did he go to ſolicit the pope, Gregory X. at Beaucaire; his abſence only occaſioned greater diſturbances.

Some

Some years after, his ſon Don Sancho, who had been declared his heir, to the prejudice of the princes of Cerda, his children by a former marriage, having quarrelled with him, raiſed a great part of the kingdom in rebellion againſt him; cauſed himſelf to be appointed regent by the ſtates aſſembled at Valladolid, and reduced Alphonſo to ſue to the king of Morocco for his aſſiſtance. The unhappy father diſinherited his rebellious ſon, appointing the princes of Cerda his heirs; and if they died without iſſue, the kings of France; but however, Sancho ſucceeded him. It was at this time that the kingdom of Sicily was diſputed. Philip the Hardy propoſed to conquer the kingdom of Arragon, which had been given to him by the pope; and to ſettle his nephews, the princes of Cerda, on the throne of Caſtile; two projects which he could not accompliſh.

Rebellion of his ſon.

He is ſucceeded by that ſon whom he had diſinherited.

In 1234 the kingdom of Navarre had devolved upon Theobald count of Champagne, who inherited in right of his mother, the laſt king's ſiſter. Joanna, the heireſs of that kingdom, by her marriage with Philip the Fair, in 1284, brought it into the family of France. The hiſtory of Spain is filled with confuſion till the time when Ferdinand and Iſabella united the two principal crowns.

The kingdom of Navarre falls to the family of France.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

General OBSERVATIONS *on the* FIFTH EPOCHA.

THERE is little room for general obſervations on this epocha: We have taken notice of the moſt remarkable changes in the courſe of the narration; and during this period there has been no fundamental alteration in the manners or ideas of the people. The attempts of the popes againſt crowned heads, ſerve to ſhew the unreaſonable opinions which always prevailed in the court of Rome; and that the means which they employed to accompliſh their ends were not leſs extraordinary.

Order of St. Francis, in which mendicity is preſcribed.

Under the pontificate of Innocent III. the church approved of the order of St. Francis d'Aſſiſe; a man of fervent piety, and exceſſive ſimplicity; who, taking theſe words of the goſpel literally, *Take neither gold nor ſilver nor ſcrip for your journey, neither ſandals nor ſtaff*; and being perſuaded, that chriſtian perfection conſiſted in poſſeſſing nothing, threw away even his ſcrip and ſtaff, and collected ſome diſciples, whoſe abſolute poverty ſeemed an evident proof of apoſtleſhip. By their rule they were obliged to beg their bread, and to receive no money. So rapid was the progreſs of this inſtitution, that at the firſt general chapter, which was held in the year 1219, the number of brothers exceeded five thouſand. Two years after, the

founder

founder eſtabliſhed a new order, to ſatisfy the devotion of an infinite number of people of both ſexes; who, without leaving their homes, wanted to partake of the merits of the new apoſtles.

Peter Valdo before St. Francis.

It may be obſerved, that Peter Valdo, a merchant of Lyons, had nearly the ſame ideas with St. Francis; but from his not ſhewing the ſame ſubmiſſion to the Holy See, was looked upon as a patriarch of the heretical Albigenſes.

St. Dominick likewiſe founds a mendicant order.

The mendicity of the *Brother Minors* (that was the name which was given them) was attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that it excited the emulation of St. Dominick, a Spaniard, miſſionary of the Albigenſes, and founder of the order of *preaching friars*; who from being at firſt regular canons, very ſoon became mendicants. They had not ſo much credit perhaps among the people; but they had more at Rome, in courts and in ſchools; and were rendered particularly formidable by having the inquiſition under their management.

The mendicants were uſeful to the popes who protected them.

All the friars of theſe orders, upon whom privileges had been heaped by the ſovereign pontiffs, under the immediate government of the Holy See, and freed from the authority of the biſhops, even in the diſcharge of the duties of the holy miniſtry, were the common inſtruments employed by the court of Rome, who made them fly from one country to another at no expenſe, charged with its orders, and zealous to execute them. Therefore, in their obſtinate diſputes with the ſecular clergy, but principally with the doctors of Paris, they were ſupported by

by the whole pontifical power, and bulls and excommunications were never wanting for their ſervice.

Natural inconveniences of this eſtabliſhment.

If they, beyond meaſure, exalted this power, from whence they derived ſo great influence; if, after they had combated their adverſaries, they became jealous rivals of each other; if their new devotions, and ſcholaſtick ſyſtems, were ſometimes ſources of ſuperſtition and diſcord; and if relaxation, cabals, ſelf intereſt, intrigue, and idleneſs ſucceeded to the primitive fervour and labours of an edifying and diſintereſted zeal; it is what a little reflection upon paſt experience, and human nature, might have eaſily foreſeen. Mendicity alone opened a way to the greateſt abuſes; and what probability was there that friars, expoſed to all kinds of company, could preſerve manners quite contrary to every propenſity of nature? (See *Fleury, Huitieme Diſcours ſur l'Hiſtoire Eccleſiaſtique.*)

Fanaticks among the Franciſcans.

An overſtrained perfection almoſt always degenerates into fanaticiſm. The Franciſcans had very ſoon a ſect of *ſpiritualiſts* among them; who, on account of the form of their cowls, the ſtuff and colour of their habits, but more particularly the ridiculous opinion, that the property of their food was veſted in the Holy See, by which they formed a ſchiſm in the order, cauſed one another to be anathematized, and ſome to be burnt as hereticks. We ſhall ſee this folly furniſhing weapons to an emperour againſt a pope.

Singular contradictions from

In the year 1212, a council held at Paris gave orders, that friars upon a journey ſhould be provided

provided with neceſſaries, that they might not be obliged to beg, *to the diſhonour of the Lord and their order*: At that very time St. Francis increaſed the number of voluntary mendicants. In 1215 the general council of the Lateran prohibited the founding of new orders, leſt the too great variety ſhould introduce confuſion into the church. Innocent III. who held that council, had eſtabliſhed the brother minors and the preachers; the Carmelites, Auguſtines, and other mendicant orders made their appearance almoſt immediately after. In 1274, the general council of Lyons ſuppreſſed all theſe orders which had been founded ſince the time of Innocent III. but tolerated the Carmelites and Auguſtines until they ſhould be regulated anew. The order of the Trinity, and that of Mercy, reſpectable from their conſecrating themſelves to the ſervice of the unfortunate; the orders of Servites, of the Holy Croſs, of the Celeſtines, &c. however, ſprung up and maintained themſelves, notwithſtanding the canons; and the ſucceeding ages produced a number of others. Theſe contradictions do not ſurprize thoſe people who ſeek for the cauſe in the human heart, and in the powers of prejudice.

the multiplying of orders.

William of St. Amour, a doctor of Paris, publiſhed his celebrated book againſt the mendicant orders, entitled *Des Perils des derniers Temps* (of the Perils of the laſt Times) in which he repreſents them as the Phariſees of the goſpel, to be known by the following marks: *They love the uppermoſt rooms at feaſts, and the chief ſeats in the ſynagogues; and greetings in the markets, and to be*

A work againſt the mendicants and abuſive diſputes.

be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi. This invective was refuted and condemned, and the doctor baniſhed; but however, his aſſociates were not diſpirited, and both parties railed againſt each other with violence; abuſe being frequently the beſt arguments in the diſpute. In this manner did they continue to argue for ſeveral ages, without the truth being in the leaſt cleared up; till doubt at laſt produced true ſcience, manners were poliſhed by reaſon, and the ancient ruſt of pedantry fell before indelible ridicule.

Reproaches made againſt the inquiſition.

I ſhall not inſiſt upon the effects of the inquiſition, which was firſt eſtabliſhed in France, where it did not long ſubſiſt; and afterwards in Italy and Spain, where it ſtill continues. The puniſhing private errours, as the moſt enormous crimes; changing accuſation, the moſt deſtructive of the peace of ſociety, into a duty; the proſecuting citizens, who were obedient to the laws, both civil and natural, only upon ſimple ſuſpicion, or frivolous informations, and thereby carrying diſtruſt and alarms into ſociety, and even into the boſom of private families; the diſgracing a religion of charity by torments, and exciting the fanaticiſm of ſectaries, by the violent means which were employed againſt the ſects; are charges with which this tribunal has been reproached thouſands of times, and with all the powers of eloquence. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that ignorance muſt be the natural conſequence. The reading of the ſcriptures in the vulgar tongue was ſeverely prohibited, and of courſe withheld from almoſt all the faithful. If opinions or truths, whether theological

Ignorance, the natural conſequence.

or

or philoſophical, did not perfectly agree with the ſyſtems of the inquiſitors, they became heretical, erroneous, or at leaſt to be ſuſpected of hereſy; the authors were expoſed to perſecution, and mankind afraid to allow genius to ſoar.

The opinions of the Dominicans acquire greater credit by it.

The Dominicans exerciſing ſuch a dreadful authority almoſt univerſally, their particular ſentiments could not fail to have great influence; it therefore ſeems ſurpriſing that an oath ſhould have been exacted by the Sorbonne, and even the council of Caſtile, to defend the immaculate conception of the virgin, though St. Bernard diſapproved of the feſtival inſtituted by the church of Lyons to commemorate it, and the Romiſh church has never admitted it among the number of its tenets.

Improper ſtudies in the univerſities.

Univerſities were formed and increaſed, and people from all parts of Europe flocked to Paris; but that was not the place to find proper ſtudies; where almoſt nothing was attended to but the vain ſubtilties of ſcholaſtick philoſophy. Their principal learning conſiſted in diſputing about words, without knowing things; in entangling reaſon in a labyrinth of ſyllogiſms which could not give birth to one clear idea; and making a diſplay of authorities frequently abſurd, and almoſt always miſunderſtood, as irrefragable proofs.

Ariſtotle condemned, and then becomes an oracle.

In the year 1210 the metaphyſicks of Ariſtotle were condemned to the flames by the council of Paris, becauſe to them was aſcribed the origin of I know not what hereſy; however, Ariſtotle became more than ever not only the oracle of the

the philoſophers, but likewiſe of theologians, who quoted him oftener than the holy fathers; from whence proceeded thoſe gloomy reveries which expoſed the doctrines of the church, and engendered ſchiſms. In the darkneſs of ignorance men walk at random, and cannot keep in a juſt medium. Studies ought to be encouraged, but it is the duties of the univerſities to ſet an example of obedience to the laws. The exorbitant privileges which had been laviſhed upon them, made them ſometimes formidable to the government; for the ſcholars not being liable to be tried by the ſecular tribunals, that numerous body of unruly youths, under no reſtraint, committed the moſt enormous exceſſes with impunity. The maſters and doctors, who were leſs anxious for the publick good than to preſerve their pernicious privileges, did not fail to obſtruct the courſe of juſtice, when it would have laid hold on the guilty; which was a ſource of diſorders at Paris and elſewhere.

The univerſities enjoyed ſome dangerous privileges.

The popes at the ſame time wanting to rule theſe literary bodies, at one time protecting them againſt the civil power; at another, galling them by pontifical deſpotiſm, occaſioned diſturbances among them, which were equally injurious to the cauſe of truth, and the laws of the ſtate; and thus thoſe reſpectable eſtabliſhments, which ought to have reſcued Europe from barbariſm, for a long time partook of the general contagion.

The popes wanting to rule them, increaſed the diſturbances.

What happened at Paris in the year 1304 deſerves to be particularly mentioned. The *prevot* of the town having cauſed a ſcholar to be

The *prevot* of Paris ſacrificed to the doctors.

be hanged, the judge of the biſhop's court, by a ſpecial mandate, commanded all the prieſts to go to his houſe in proceſſion, and to throw ſtones againſt it, exclaiming—*Begone, curſed Satan, confeſs thy ſin; do honour to our holy mother church, whom thou haſt wounded in her privileges, or may thy fate be ſuch as the fate of Dathan and Abiram, whom the earth ſwallowed up alive!* All the ſchools were ſhut up, and the magiſtrate obliged to make ſatisfaction to the univerſity, to do penance, and ſeek abſolution at Rome.

Albert the Great, and his diſciple St. Thomas Aquinas, both flouriſhed at this period. The twenty one volumes in folio of the firſt are forgotten, but the ſecond continues an oracle in theology. While we admire his penetration, and his genius for analyzing, let us regret his having followed the torrent of ſubtile diſputatious queſtions.

Albert the Great, and St. Thomas Aquinas.

Jacobus de Voragine, another Dominican, and archbiſhop of Genoa, publiſhed a collection of the lives of ſaints, ſtuffed with fables, which long afforded food for ſuperſtition, but is at laſt fallen into contempt. It was called the *Golden legend.*

The golden legend.

Roger Bacon, an Engliſh Franciſcan friar, was an aſtronomer, mathematician, natural philoſopher, chymiſt, phyſician, and mechanick, the inventor of burning glaſſes, the *camera obſcura*, &c. an excellent genius at a time when men of the moſt eminent abilities were only ſophiſts, and therefore was accuſed of being a magician.

Roger Bacon.

France

Poets in France.

France already reckoned a number of poets. Fauchet gives an account of a hundred and twenty ſeven who wrote before the end of the thirteenth century, and extracts of their works are to be found in his *Recueil de la Langue et Poeſie Francoiſe*. What ſort of poets muſt they have been, ſince there are ſo few good even at this day? It was a great deal that the dawn of genius penetrated through a long night of barbariſm.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Of ſome of the principal EVENTS *in* MODERN HISTORY *down to the Fifteenth Century.*

THIS Table was thought neceſſary, 1. Becauſe, having continued the Roman Hiſtory down to the conqueſts of the Arabians, I anticipated ſeveral important events which were poſterior to the epocha of Clovis. 2. Becauſe, the firſt ages of Modern Hiſtory preſent us with ſuch a confuſed mixture of tranſactions, that it is impoſſible to order the narration in ſuch a manner, as ſufficiently to mark their relation to each other in point of time. I confine myſelf to matters of the greateſt importance.

CLOVIS defeats the Romans near Soiſſons, and ſeizes what remained to them in Gaul. This is properly the commencement of the French monarchy. The *Francks* had before been eſtabliſhed at Tournay and its environs; but we ſcarcely know any thing of their firſt kings. The new conqueror turned Chriſtian in 496, after his victory at *Tolbiack* over the Germans. — 486.

ALARICK king of the *Viſigoths*, vanquiſhed at Vouillé by Clovis. The conqueror ſeizes that kingdom, of which Toulouſe was the capital; but Theodorick, king of the Oſtrogoths, retakes part of it by his generals. — 507.

Death of *Clovis*. The monarchy divided among his four ſons. Theſe partitions were long fatal. Civil wars ſucceeded each other almoſt without interruption. — 511.

Death of *Theodorick* the Great. He had governed Italy like a great king, while the Roman emperours made themſelves contemptible. The emperour *Juſtin* died the — 526.

year following, and was ſucceeded by *Juſtinian*, whoſe reputation has exceeded his merit.

533. Conqueſt of Africa from the *Vandals* by *Beliſarius*. This general of *Juſtinian* might have reeſtabliſhed the empire, had its foundations been leſs ruinous. He only ſerved a depraved and ungrateful court.

534. End of the kingdom of the *Burgundians*. The French kings ſhared this conqueſt, which conſiderably augmented that monarchy.

537. Expedition of *Beliſarius* into Italy. He obliged *Vitiges*, king of the Oſtrogoths, to ſurrender in Ravenna, and ſeemed to have reſtored Italy to the empire in 540, but it could not be kept long. *Totila* treading in the ſteps of *Theodorick*, ſoon obliged the Romans to retire.

553. NARSES the eunuch, ſent by Juſtinian, with a ſtrong army defeats *Totila*. Italy wreſted from the Goths, who a few years after were ſucceeded by other barbarians.

568. JUSTIN II. ſucceſſor of Juſtinian. In his reign, the kingdom of the *Lombards* was eſtabliſhed in Italy by *Alboinus*. The empire preſerved only the *Exarchate* of Ravenna in that country.

575. Civil wars begun in France by the queens *Fredegonda* and *Brunehaut*. Never were ſeen ſcenes of more horrour. Theſe were leſs owing to the ambition of thoſe two women, than to the general barbarity of manners, and ſuperſtitious notions, which turned the influence of religion to ſiniſter purpoſes.

590. *St.* GREGORY ſurnamed the Great. This pontificate is celebrated for the virtues of the pontiff, or his great credit in the courts. He firſt ſent miſſionaries into Great Britain, which had been ſubdued by the Saxons and Angles about a century before.

602. PHOCAS dethrones the emperour *Mauritius*. Remarkable revolution attended with horrid circumſtances. *Heraclius*, who dethroned Phocas in 610, vanquiſhed the Perſians; but he increaſed the miſeries of the empire by ill government, and new theological diſſenſions.

622. HEGIRA of the Mahometans, or the flight of *Mahomet*. This formidable impoſtor, though obliged to fly from Mecca, in a ſhort time ſubjected the Arabians or Saracens to his religion and his dominion, whom he inſpired with an equal ſpirit of fanaticiſm and conqueſt. The *Califs*, his ſucceſſors, in a very few years ſubdued Syria, Perſia, and Africa.

CONSTANTINOPLE beſieged by the *Saracens*. We find the capital of the empire already threatened. It was ſaved by the ſea fire, an invention of Callinicus; but the provinces were ſubdued on every ſide. 672.

WAMBA, king of Spain, dethroned by a council of Toledo, under the pretence of penance. The biſhops domineer in Spain, enact laws, and give an example of an unheard of attack upon the ſovereign. 681.

SPAIN conquered by the *Saracens* of Africa, called *Moors*. *Pelagio*, a hero of the blood royal of the Viſigoths, retired into the Aſturias, and there founded a petty Chriſtian kingdom; whence afterwards iſſued enemies formidable to the conquerors. 711.

PEPIN HERISTEL dies. He had reigned glorioufly in France with the title of Mayor of the Palace, for the *Idle* kings had no power, and the mayors were veſted with the whole authority. *Charles Martel*, who ſucceeded his father Pepin, ſtill exceeded him by his exploits. 714.

LEO the *Iſaurian* emperour. He endeavoured to deſtroy the worſhip of images. This new hereſy of the *Iconoclaſts* was the cauſe of fatal diſſenſions, ſtirring up the popes and the people againſt the empire. 725.

CHARLES MARTEL defeats the *Saracens* near Tours. After the conqueſt of Spain, they had invaded France, which they would perhaps have ſubjected to the Koran, had not the French hero cut them in pieces. Their civil wars afterwards contributed to the preſervation of the Chriſtian ſtates. 732.

PEPIN, ſon of Charles Martel, dethrones the race of Clovis, or the *Merovingians*. This revolution was in part effected by the policy of pope *Zachary*. The popes, wanting to ſhake off their ſubjection to the empire of Conſtantinople, and rid themſelves of the uneaſineſs given them by the Lombard kings, reckoned on the aſſiſtance of France. Pepin paſſed twice into Italy, and forced Aiſtulf, king of the Lombards, to cede ſome places to the Holy See. 752.

Death of *Pepin*, who leaves the crown to his two ſons *Charlemagne* and *Carloman*. The firſt reigned alone in 771. His expeditions, his laws, and his government, form one of the moſt memorable epochas in hiſtory. 768.

End of the kingdom of the *Lombards*. Pope Adrian had called in Charlemagne againſt king *Didier*, who was taken 774.

taken in Pavia, his capital. This kingdom was incorporated with the French monarchy.

778. ABDERAMAN or *Almanzor*, an Arabian prince, wrests Spain from the Califs, and reigns gloriously with the title of king.

794. COUNCIL of FRANCFORT, celebrated for the condemnation of the second council of Nice, where the worship of images had been restored in 787, under the empress Irené. Charlemagne preposterously acted the theologian in this affair, where even the meaning of the Nicene decree was not understood.

800. Pope *Leo* III. crowns Charlemagne *Emperour*. The Italians thought they restored the empire of the west, of which not a trace remained. The temporal powers of the popes, the foundation of which had been laid by Pepin, was then more firmly established. Nicephorus having dethroned Irené, came to an accommodation with Charlemagne. The limits of the two empires were settled.

807. HAROUN AL RASCHID, the Calif, who cultivated and promoted the arts and sciences, presents Charlemagne with the sovereignty of Jerusalem, as a token of his esteem. One of the most remarkable revolutions recorded in the history of the human mind is, the profound ignorance into which Europe fell while the Arabians were making progress in knowledge.

814. Death of *Charlemagne*, His empire comprehended France, Germany, Italy, Catalonia, &c. His son *Louis* the *Debonnaire*, was the sport of factions, which he endeavoured to calm only by a pusillanimous devotion.

820. First incursions of the *Normans* or *Danes*. These pirates, issuing from the coasts of the Baltick, were long a scourge to Europe, and produced great revolutions.

827. EGBERT, king of Wessex, who had been bred at the court of Charlemagne, united under his dominion the seven petty kingdoms of the Anglo Saxons, which are called the *Heptarchy*.

830. LOUIS, emperour, dethroned by his rebellious sons, or rather by the bishops, who made him do publick penance, in order to deprive him of the crown. He was restored, but did not learn the art of reigning.

840. After the death of Louis, his three sons *Lothaire*, *Louis* the *Germanick*, and *Charles* the *Bald*, share the monarchy. A new source of civil wars.

The

The *Normans* advanced to the neighbourhood of Paris. Their incurſions became perpetually more dreadful. King Charles the Bald gave them money to depart; that is, gave them a deſire to return, and was incapable of reſiſting them. England laid waſte as well as France. 845.

Divorce of *Lothaire*, king of Lorraine. This was the ſubject of his famous diſpute with pope Nicholas I. who ſet an example of the moſt violent meaſures againſt crowned heads. We ſhall find, in the ſequel, the quarrels with Rome daily grow more frequent, and the popes triumph over the kings. Nicholas excommunicated the patriarch *Photius*, which gave riſe to the ſchiſm of the Greeks. 860.

Reign of the great *Alfred* in England. He was the wonder of his age, as well as *Charlemagne*. 871.

Death of *Charles* the *Bald*, who had been made emperour. His reign may be looked upon as the epocha of the *Feudal Government*, which long perpetuated anarchy and violence. 877.

Siege of Paris by the *Normans*. The city held out two years. *Charles* the *Fat* made a ſhameful peace with the barbarians. In 912, *Charles* the *Simple* was obliged to cede to them the country, which from their own name they called Normandy, where their chief, *Rollo*, reigned glorioufly with the title of duke. 885.

Reformation of *Clugny*. At this period the monks, whoſe ſtrictneſs of life entitled them to reſpect, became very powerful, becauſe the clergy were exceſſively corrupted, and the people extremely ſtupid. 910.

CONRAD, duke of Franconia, elected king by the Germans. Thus the Houſe of France loſt Germany. Charles the Simple, on whom that crown ought to have devolved, was only the phantom of a king. The French nobility, without difficulty, ſtripped him of his poſſeſſions. He died in priſon (929). 912.

RAMIREZ II. king of Leon and the Auſturias, defeats the Moors at Simencas; a celebrated battle. The Moors of Spain were diſtracted with civil wars, of which the Chriſtians took advantage, though diſunited among themſelves. The progreſs of the latter was ſlow, but their courage increaſed with their hopes. 938.

OTHO the *Great*, crowned king of Italy, and emperour the year following. He was ſon of *Henry* the *Fowler*, duke of Saxony, who had been elected king of Germany. *John* XII. called Otho into Italy againſt Berengerius, who 961.

who tyranniſed over that country. The empire was given to the Germans, nearly in the ſame manner that it had been beſtowed upon the French. Soon after the pope prevailed upon the Romans to revolt, but Otho forced them to return to their duty. Under the Othos the German clergy acquired great power; and fiefs were made hereditary.

For ſome time the popes had been infected with the general depravation of manners, which they increaſed by their example. Ignorance, ſuperſtition, vices among churchmen, and enormities of all kinds, were grown to the greateſt height. Yet in this century, Chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed in Sweden, Poland, Ruſſia, Hungary, &c.

987. HUGH CAPET acquires the crown of France, and the *Carlovingian* line was dethroned. This family, like the firſt, had fallen into contempt through the weakneſs of the princes. The preſent royal family is deſcended from Hugh Capet, whoſe grandfather and granduncle had already borne the title of kings.

998. ROBERT, ſon of Hugh Capet, excommunicated by Gregory V. This excommunication obliged him to ſeparate from his wife.

1017. The *Danes* under *Canute* king of Denmark, ſubdued England. Canute reigned there like a great prince. The revolution had been begun by his father *Sweyn*.

1029. The city of Averſa in Italy, built by adventurers from Normandy. Theſe *Norman* gentlemen, animated by the ancient ſpirit of their nation, founded the kingdom of the *Two Sicilies*, which was the fruit of their ambition and courage.

1083. PEACE of GOD publiſhed by the biſhops under Henry I. king of France. This abſurd inſtitution proves to what exceſs the diſorders and calamities of the publick were carried, as well as the want of power to remedy them.

1035. Death of *Sancho*, king of Navarre, ſurnamed the Great, becauſe he made ſome conqueſts from the Moors. He divided his dominions among his four ſons. Thus were there four Chriſtian kingdoms in Spain, *Leon*, *Navarre*, *Caſtile*, and *Arragon*. A ſource of civil wars.

1054. SCHISM of the *Greeks* completed by the patriarch *Cerularius*, whom *Leo* IX. treated too haughtily. The court of Conſtantinople was then a theatre of horrid crimes. At that time lived the empreſs *Zoé*.

The

The NORMANS eſtabliſhed in Italy wreſt *Sicily* from the Saracens; that heroick family was conſtantly increaſing its power. 1058.

WILLIAM duke of Normandy conquers *England*. He ſubdued the nation entirely by a cruel policy. 1066.

HILDEBRAND, pope, under the name of *Gregory* VII. No pontificate is more celebrated for the enterpriſes carried on againſt crowned heads. A ſyſtem of univerſal monarchy was formed by that pontiff, who was more ſucceſsful in ſhaking the conſtitution of kingdoms, than in reforming the manners of the clergy. 1073.

The emperour HENRY IV. (of the Houſe of Franconia) excommunicated and depoſed by Gregory VII. At that time began the war between the prieſthood and the empire, the circumſtances of which ſtrike the reader with horrour. The pope was ſupported by the Normans, who were become the vaſſals of the Holy See, and by the famous counteſs Matilda, who made to him a donation of all her dominions. He died in 1085. His ſucceſſors imitated his conduct. 1076.

The CID takes Toledo from the Moors. The Chriſtians ſtill made progreſs in Spain. The kingdom of *Portugal* began in 1132. 1085.

CRUSADE preached by *Urban* II. at the council of Clermont, where he excommunicated Philip I. king of France. The cruſades perfectly ſhew the reigning ſpirit of that age. This ended with the taking of Jeruſalem in 1099; a conqueſt which was attended with very little advantage. 1095.

HENRY IV. dethroned by his ſon *Henry* V. whom *Paſcal* II. had inſtigated to revolt. This was the ſequel of the quarrel with Gregory VII. which the new emperour notwithſtanding continued. In 1112 Paſcal broke an agreement he had made with regard to inveſtitures, and the war was rekindled. 1105.

War between *Louis* the *Fat*, king of France, and *Henry* I. king of England and duke of Normandy. This is the beginning of the long wars between the two kingdoms; they were unavoidable when the king of England poſſeſſed a great fief in France. 1115.

End of the war of *Inveſtitures*, by an extraordinary accommodation between Calixtus II. and Henry V. but the cuſtom of ſtirring up the ſubjects by the excommunica- 1122.

tion

tion of the ſovereigns was for a long time after the ſource of troubles in Europe.

1130. Schiſm of ANACLETUS, who diſputed the papacy with *Innocent* II. The celebrated St. *Bernard* cauſed Innocent to be acknowledged. This affair gave occaſion to wars. Innocent being taken priſoner by *Roger* king of *Sicily*, confirmed to him the title of king, which Anacletus had beſtowed.

1140. ABELARD condemned at Sens. Berengerius had been condemned in France, and at Rome, about the middle of the former century. We remark this as the epocha of falſe *Logick*, whence ſprung ſo many errours and pernicious diſputes. Study was revived, and men were acquainted with no better. *Arnold of Breſcia* propagated new doctrines from a principle of fanaticiſm. He was perſecuted by Adrian IV. and burnt in 1155. Thus the hereſies were renewed, which afterwards became more dangerous as the diſputes grew warmer.

1146. Second CRUSADE preached by St. Bernard. *Louis* the *Young* and *Conrad* III. firſt emperour of the Houſe of Suabia, croſſed into Aſia with great armies. Being defeated by the Turks one after the other, they returned in 1149.

1156. FREDERICK BARBAROSSA emperour. He made ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to ſubdue the ſpirit of liberty and revolt, which was ſpreading in Lombardy. In 1176 the people of Milan defeated the emperour. At this period the people univerſally emerged from a ſtate of ſervitude by purchaſing *Franchiſes*. *Municipal* government was eſtabliſhed in the cities; the burghers acquired ſentiment and induſtry. *Venice*, already powerful by its commerce, ſupported Adrian IV. againſt the emperour Frederick.

1164. Beginning of the quarrel between *Henry* II. king of England, and *Thomas Becket* (St. Thomas of Canterbury) on the ſubject of eccleſiaſtical immunities. Henry was the moſt powerful prince in Europe; he poſſeſſed ſeveral provinces of France; this quarrel made him unhappy.

1188. Third CRUSADE againſt *Saladine*, who had taken Jeruſalem a little before. In this expedition died Frederick *Barbaroſſa*. *Philip Auguſtus*, and *Richard* king of England, engaged in it with little ſucceſs. They gained no conqueſt but the town of *Acre*. Richard, at his return in 1192,

1192, was kept priſoner by the emperour Henry VI. Philip Auguſtus, who had returned to Europe before him, took advantage of his abſence to do him all the miſchief he could.

The emperour *Henry* VI. maſter of *Sicily*, the heireſs of which he had married. This was the principal cauſe of the hatred ſubſiſting between the popes and the Houſe of Suabia, which they could not bear to have any footing in Italy. 1196.

Beginning of the pontificate of *Innocent* III. who in ſome reſpects ſurpaſſed Gregory VII. He began with putting France under an interdict, on account of the king's divorce. 1198.

PHILIP AUGUSTUS confiſcates the provinces which *John* king of England poſſeſſed in France. This confiſcation was carried into execution by force of arms. John was equally mean ſpirited and violent. 1202.

CONSTANTINOPLE taken in the fourth *Cruſade*. Baldwin earl of Flanders was at its head, and emperour. The cruſaders always had views upon that city, while they pretended only to arm againſt infidels. *Venice* had a great ſhare in that expedition, by which ſhe gained the Morea and Candia. 1204.

Cruſade againſt the *Albigenſes*. *Raimond* count de Toulouſe was the victim of that horrid expedition. To complete thoſe ſcenes of barbarity, the *Inquiſition* then took its riſe. 1208.

INNOCENT III. having quarrelled with *John* king of *England*, made a gift of that kingdom to Philip Auguſtus; but John doing homage for it to the pope, he then changed his meaſures. The Engliſh barons revolted, and, in 1215, obliged the king to ſign the *Great Charter*. 1212.

Beginning of the *Mendicant Orders*. This eſtabliſhment of Innocent III. had great influence on the affairs of the church.—The *Univerſities* were eſtabliſhed. *Ariſtotle's* metaphyſicks forbidden to be read. The ſtudy of the *Roman Law* paved the way for a revolution in polity. 1215.

Death of *Philip Auguſtus*. His policy had augmented the power of the crown. 1223.

GREGORY IX. excommunicates *Frederick* II. This emperour was the perpetual object of the enterpriſes of the Romiſh court, which was deſirous of ruining the Houſe of Suabia. He recovered Jeruſalem in conſequence of a treaty with the ſultan of Egypt; yet he was again excommunicated. 1227.

GENGHIZ KHAN, who died a little before, had eſtabliſhed the empire of the *Mongol* Tartars in Aſia, and a great part of China.

1236. FERDINAND the Holy, king of Caſtile, took *Cordova* from the Moors; he afterwards made himſelf maſter of Seville. *James* I. king of Arragon, likewiſe took from them Valentia. Theſe two princes were legiſlators. The reign of *Alphonſo* the *Wiſe*, king of Caſtile, in 1252, is not leſs celebrated. The ſciences began to revive in Spain. In 1234 the kingdom of Navarre had devolved on the count of Champagne.

1245. General council of Lyons, where *Frederick* was depoſed by *Innocent* IV. Some years before, Gregory IX. had made an offer to St. *Louis* of conferring the empire on his brother, which the virtuous monarch refuſed. The emperour ſupported himſelf by his courage; he died in 1250. The imperial dignity was deſtroyed by the continual quarrels with Rome from the time of Henry IV.

1248. Cruſade of St. *Louis*. Notwithſtanding his heroick virtue, he was taken priſoner in Egypt, and met with no ſucceſs in Paleſtine.

1258. End of the *Califate*. The califs had long poſſeſſed little more than a high ſounding title without power. Their capital was taken by a grandſon of Genghiz Khan.

1261. The Latins loſt *Conſtantinople*, which was taken from them by *Michael Paleologus*. This empire was reduced to little more than that ſingle city.

1264. HENRY III. king of England, depoſed by the nobles. St. Louis had been choſen arbiter between that king and the rebels; but the earl of Leiceſter eluded his ſentence. At this period the Houſe of *Commons* was firſt eſtabliſhed.

1266. CHARLES of *Anjou* dethrones *Conradin*, king of *Naples* and *Sicily*. Conradin was grandſon of Frederick II. and Clement IV. had granted his kingdom to the French prince, who cauſed him to be beheaded.

1270. Death of St. *Louis* in Africa, to which he had gone on a cruſade from a principle of devotion.

1273. RODOLPH of *Hapſburg* emperour. This is the origin of the greatneſs of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. He deprived Ottocar, king of Bohemia, of his dominions, and gave Auſtria to one of his ſons.

1282. SICILIAN VESPERS. All the French were maſſacred in Sicily. Peter III. king of *Arragon*, ſeized upon that kingdom, which was ſeparated from the Neapolitan.

EDWARD

EDWARD I. king of England, receives the homage of *Scotland*, which was effected by violence, united with ambitious policy. *Philip* the *Fair* confiscated and took Guienne from that prince. 1293.

Pontificate of *Boniface* VIII. He trod in the steps of Innocent III. His disputes with *Philip* the *Fair* form an epocha. 1294.

OTHMAN establishes the empire of the Turks, which rapidly increased under his successors. The House of *Othman* is descended from him. 1300.

STATES GENERAL in France, to which the *Commons* were summoned for the first time. The national assembly declared against the enormous pretensions of the pope, who had excommunicated the king, and wanted to depose him. 1302.

ROBERT BRUCE delivers Scotland from the yoke of England. 1306.

Beginning of the republick of *Switzerland*, which was oppressed by the House of Austria. Three cantons set the example of that liberty which they have gained by heroick valour. 1308.

CLEMENT V. transfers the Holy See to Avignon, where seven French popes reigned. 1309.

Death of *Philip* the *Fair*. He strengthened the throne, but was guilty of many acts of injustice. Under this reign the *Parliament* was fixed at Paris. 1314.

DANTE dies. After him *Petrarch* and *Boccace* brought the Italian language to perfection. The other nations were without taste. 1321.

The emperour *Louis of Bavaria* excommunicated by John XXII. This great quarrel revived the former scandals. 1323.

EDWARD II. dethroned in England. Succeeded by his son the famous *Edward* III. 1326.

PHILIP DE VALOIS, king of France. Edward III. was the nearest relation to the late king, but in the female line. Happily the *Salick* law triumphed. The two competitors were soon at war. The English monarch gained the sea fight of *Sluys* in 1340, and the battle of *Cressy* in 1346; after which he took Calais. 1328.

Battle of *Poitiers*, where John king of France was taken prisoner by the English. France, especially Paris, became the theatre of horrible disorders. 1356.

The same year the emperour *Charles* IV. established seven *Electors* by his *golden bull*.

1368. PETER the CRUEL, king of Caſtile, dethroned by Henry *de Tranſtamara*, his natural brother.

1370. CHARLES V. (the Wiſe) drives the Engliſh out of France by help of his generals, eſpecially *Du Gueſclin*.—This age is the moſt brilliant epocha of *Chivalry*.

1379. Grand ſchiſm of the *Weſt* after the death of Gregory XI. which for forty years brought publick calamities on religion and the ſtates.

1380. JOAN queen of Naples depoſed by Urban VI. She gave her kingdom to the duke of Anjou, who could not eſtabliſh himſelf in it, Duzazzo having ſeized upon it.

The ſame year died *Charles* V. one of the greateſt kings France ever had. It never was ſo unhappy as under the long reign of his ſon *Charles* VI.

1386. JAGELLON or ULADISLAS V. king of *Poland*, to which he united the great dutchy of Lithuania, and the other dominions that belonged to him.

1390. BAJAZET ſon of Amurath, ſultan of the Turks, lays ſiege to Conſtantinople. A treaty was made, and he retired. But this dreadful enemy of the Chriſtians would afterwards have deſtroyed the Greek empire, had not a rival been raiſed up againſt him like *Tamerlane*, who vanquiſhed him in 1402.

1396. Battle of *Nicopolis*, in which *Sigiſmond*, king of Hungary was defeated by the Turks. This is the ſame Sigiſmond who was emperour in 1410, and who cauſed the famous council of Conſtance to be aſſembled, in which an end was put to the great ſchiſm.

1399. RICHARD II. dethroned in England, by *Henry* IV. whoſe ſon Henry V. became ſo formidable to France by the wars which he raiſed againſt it.

END OF THE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

As the principal powers which made a figure in the general history of the first ages, and which form almost the whole political history of Europe, are the Popes, the Kings of France, the Emperours of Germany, and the Kings of England, the following CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES may be of particular utility.

[The numeral characters mark the year of death.]

THE MOST DISTINGUISHED POPES.

From the time of Gregory II. *to the Great Schism.*

GREGORY II. called Charles Martel into Italy. 731.
GREGORY III. followed the same plan of policy. 741.
ZACHARY determined that Pepin ought to be king. 752.
STEPHEN III. obtained from Pepin a gift of the Exarchate. 757.
PAUL I. quarrelled with Didier king of the Lombards. 767.
STEPHEN IV. called in Charlemagne against the Lombards. 772.
ADRIAN I. gave that prince a pompous reception at Rome, always paid court to him, and was loaded with favours. 795.
LEO III. crowned him emperour. 816.
STEPHEN V. did not wait for the confirmation of his election by Louis the Debonnaire. 817.
PASCAL I. observed the same conduct. Both made their excuses. 824.
GREGORY IV. joined the rebellious sons of Louis. 844.
SERGIUS II. braved the emperour Lothaire. 847.
LEO IV. defended Rome against the Saracens. 855.

BENE-

858. BENEDICT III. elected againſt the will of the emperour.
865. NICHOLAS I. very enterpriſing. He aſſumed the power of judging Lothaire and all the biſhops; he excommunicated Photius patriarch of Conſtantinople.
872. ADRIAN II. took part againſt Charles the Bald.
882. JOHN VIII. pretended to beſtow the empire on that prince; he contributed to make Boſon king of Provence.
891. STEPHEN VI. crowned the duke of Spoleto emperour.

912. SERGIUS III. diſgraced the Holy See, and unhappily had ſome imitators.

928. JOHN X. crowned Berengerius emperour.

963. JOHN XII. pope at eighteen years of age. He called Otho the Great into Italy, and crowned him emperour; afterwards he revolted.
965. LEO VIII. ſucceeded John XII. who had been depoſed. Several popes and antipopes; every thing in diſorder at Rome.
996. JOHN XV. called in Otho III. againſt Creſcentius, and made himſelf dreaded by Hugh Capet.
999. GREGORY V. crowned Otho III. and triumphed over an antipope, after having been driven out by Creſcentius. He annulled King Robert's marriage, and excommunicated him.
1003. SILVESTER II. the famous Gerbert, who had written an invective againſt John XV.

1048. BENEDICT IX. of ſcandalous life, driven out, and afterwards depoſed, as well as two others, by the care of the emperour Henry III.
1054. LEO IX. made war upon the Normans who were ſettled in Italy; he attacked the patriarch Cerularius, and the ſchiſm of the Greeks was completed.

1061. NICHOLAS II. governed by Hildebrand, trampled on the privileges of the empire. He gave the Normans an inveſtiture of all the countries they could conquer.
1073. ALEXANDER II. elected by the intereſt of Hildebrand without the conſent of the imperial court. He favoured William the conqueror in his enterpriſe on England.
1085. GREGORY VII. (Hildebrand) zealous for the reformation of the clergy; a declared enemy of crowned heads.

VICTOR

VICTOR III. profecuted the quarrel with regard to inveſtitures.	1087.
URBAN II. preached the cruſade in France after excommunicating king Philip I.	1099.
PASCAL II. completed the ruin of the emperour Henry IV. by exciting his ſon to revolt.	1118.
GELASIUS II. The emperour Henry V, ſet up againſt him the antipope Bourdin.	1119.
CALIXTUS II. again excommunicated the emperour.	1124.
HONORIUS II. excommunicated Conrad, Lothaire's competitor for the empire.	1130.
INNOCENT II. at war with Anacletus, who diſputed the papacy againſt him. He laid France under an interdict, becauſe Louis the Young refuſed to acknowledge a biſhop conſecrated at Rome.	1143.
. . . . .	
EUGENIUS III. took refuge in France; he ſtirred up Europe to a new cruſade by the help of St. Bernard.	1153.
ADRIAN IV. granted Ireland to Henry II. by bull; he obliged the emperour Frederick I. to hold his ſtirrup.	1159.
ALEXANDER III. driven out by the antipope Victor, ſupported St. Thomas of Canterbury againſt Henry II. He depoſed the emperour, who likewiſe had quarrels with Lucius III. and Urban III.	1181.
. . . . .	
GREGORY VIII. author of the cruſade againſt Saladine.	1187.
CLEMENT III. imitated his example.	1191.
CELESTINE III. ſent a legate into Spain to annul the marriage of Alphonſo IX. king of Leon.	1198.
INNOCENT III. formidable to crowned heads, author of the cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, and of the inquiſition; more abſolute in Rome than any pope.	1216.
HONORIUS III. obliged Frederick II. to engage that the kingdom of the two Sicilies ſhould never be united to the empire.	1227.
GREGORY IX. perſecuted Frederick, and offered the empire to St. Louis.	1241.
INNOCENT IV. the mortal enemy of Frederick, whom he depoſed in the council of Lyons; he afterwards cauſed a cruſade to be preached againſt the emperour Conrad IV.	1254.
ALEXANDER IV. at war with Manfredi for the kingdom of Naples.	1261.
URBAN IV. made a gift of that kingdom.	1264.

CLEMENT

1268. CLEMENT V. author of the revolution, in which Conradin king of Naples loſt his life.

1276. GREGORY X. confirmed the election of Rodolph of Hapſburg, and afterwards excommunicated him.

. . . . . .

1280. NICHOLAS III. one of the authors of the conſpiracy againſt Charles of Anjou, king of Naples.

1285. MARTIN IV. made a gift of the dominions of Peter III. king of Arragon, in favour of Charles of Anjou.

. . . . . .

CELESTINE V. His ſucceſſor Cajetan prevailed upon him to abdicate in 1294, and put him to death in priſon.

1303. BONIFACE VIII. (Cajetan) attempted to dethrone Philip the Fair and give law to ſovereigns.

1304. BENEDICT XI. took off Philip's excommunication.

1314. CLEMENT V. devoted to Philip the Fair, deſtroyed the order of the Templars; fixed his reſidence at Avignon.

1334. JOHN XXII. famous for his exactions, and his quarrel with the emperour Louis of Bavaria. He made an acquiſition of Bologna, and deceived the Bologneſe.

1342. BENEDICT XII. proſecuted the quarrel with Louis of Bavaria.

1352. CLEMENT VI. ordered the election of another emperour. He took advantage of the misfortunes of Joan, queen of Naples, to purchaſe Avignon.

1362. INNOCENT VI. England provoked by the taxes of the pontifical court, refuſed him the tribute to which king John had ſubmitted.

1370. URBAN V. went to Rome, and returned to Avignon.

1378. GREGORY XI. fixed his reſidence at Rome, and repented of it.

Great SCHISM *of the* WEST.

KINGS

KINGS OF FRANCE.

From Pepin to Charles VI.

*** *I begin this list with the second race, because in the first, after the time of Clovis, we find only partitions of the kingdom, and confusion.*

PEPIN the SHORT, a great prince.	768.
CHARLEMAGNE emperour, the wonder of his age.	814.
LOUIS I. (the Debonnaire) emperour, weak and unhappy.	840.
CHARLES II. (the Bald) emperour, ambitious without merit.	877.
LOUIS II. the Stammerer) plundered by the nobility.	879.
LOUIS III. and CARLOMAN plundered in like manner.	884.
CHARLES the FAT emperour, incapable of governing.	888.
EUDES (grand uncle of Hugh Capet) preferred to Charles the Simple.	898.
CHARLES III. (the Simple) without power, dethroned.	922.
RODOLPH, by election; he was lavish in the bestowal of fiefs.	936.
LOUIS IV. (d'Outremer) beaten by his vassals.	954.
LOTHAIRE almost without domain.	986.
LOUIS V. (the Idle.)	987.

END OF THE SECOND RACE.

LINE OF THE CAPETAINS.

HUGH CAPET an able prince.	996.
ROBERT good natured and weak.	1031.
HENRY I. likewise weak.	1060.
PHILIP I. despised, because he had no share in the great events of his reign.	1108.
LOUIS VI. (the Fat) increased the royal power.	1137.
LOUIS VII. (the Young) imprudent, unfortunate by his crusade and his divorce.	1180.
PHILIP II. (Augustus) ambitious, politick, and powerful.	1223.
LOUIS VIII. took the cross against the Albigenses.	1226.
LOUIS IX. (Saint) admirable in many respects.	1270.
PHILIP III. (the Hardy) an indifferent prince.	1285.
PHILIP IV. (the Fair) his reign ought to be studied.	1314.

1316. LOUIS X. (Hutin) very ſevere.
1322. PHILIP V. (the Long) wanted time.
1328. CHARLES IV. (the Fair.)
1350. PHILIP VI. (Valois) unfortunate againſt the Engliſh.
1364. JOHN had well nigh ruined France.
1380. CHARLES V. (the Wiſe) reſtorer of the kingdom.
1422. CHARLES VI.

EMPEROURS OF GERMANY,

To the time of Wenceſlas.

*** The houſe of France loſt the empire and the crown of Germany on the death of the emperour Louis IV. in 912. The Germans elected for their king *Conrad*, duke of Franconia, who was ſucceeded by

936. HENRY I. (the Fowler) duke of Saxony.
973. OTHO I. (the Great) ſon of Henry, crowned by John XII. imitated Charlemagne.
983. OTHO II. ſon of Otho I.
1001. OTHO III. ſon of the preceding.
1024. HENRY II. of the ſame family.
1039. CONRAD II. of Franconia.
1056. HENRY III. ſon of the preceding
1106. HENRY IV. ſon of Henry III.
1125. HENRY V. ſon of Henry IV.
1137. LOTHAIRE of Suplenburg.
1152. CONRAD III. of *Suabia*.
1190. FREDERICK I. (Barbaroſſa) nephew of Conrad.
1197. HENRY VI. ſon of Frederick.
1208. PHILIP of the ſame houſe.
1212. OTHO IV. of Brunſwick.
1250. FREDERICK II. ſon of Henry VI.
1256. WILLIAM of Holland.
1291. RODOLPH of *Hapſburg*.
1298. ADOLPH of *Naſſau*.
1310. ALBERT I. of Auſtria
1313. HENRY VIII. of Luxemburg.
1343. LOUIS V. of Bavaria.
1378. CHARLES IV. of Moravia.
1400. WENCESLAS ſon of Charles IV.

KINGS OF ENGLAND,

From the Norman Conqueſt to Henry V.

WILLIAM I. (the Conqueror,)	1087.
WILLIAM II. (Rufus) a tyrannical king.	1110.
HENRY I. an able uſurper.	1135.
STEPHEN, another uſurper, leſs fortunate.	1154.
HENRY II. (Plantagenet) very powerful, but unfortunate on account of the diſpute concerning eccleſiaſtical immunities.	1189.
RICHARD I. a warrior without prudence.	1199.
JOHN (Lackland) ſtripped of his dominions in France by Philip Auguſtus; obliged to ſubmit to his barons; a voluntary vaſſal to the pope.	1216.
HENRY III. a weak devotee, the ſport of the barons.	1272.
EDWARD I. political and enterpriſing, conquered Scotland.	1307.
EDWARD II. a ſlave to his favourites, dethroned by his wife and ſon.	1327.
EDWARD III. a glorious reign, fatal to France.	1377.
RICHARD II. depoſed and aſſaſſinated.	1399.
HENRY IV. an uſurper of merit, father of *Henry* V. who cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of France.	1413.

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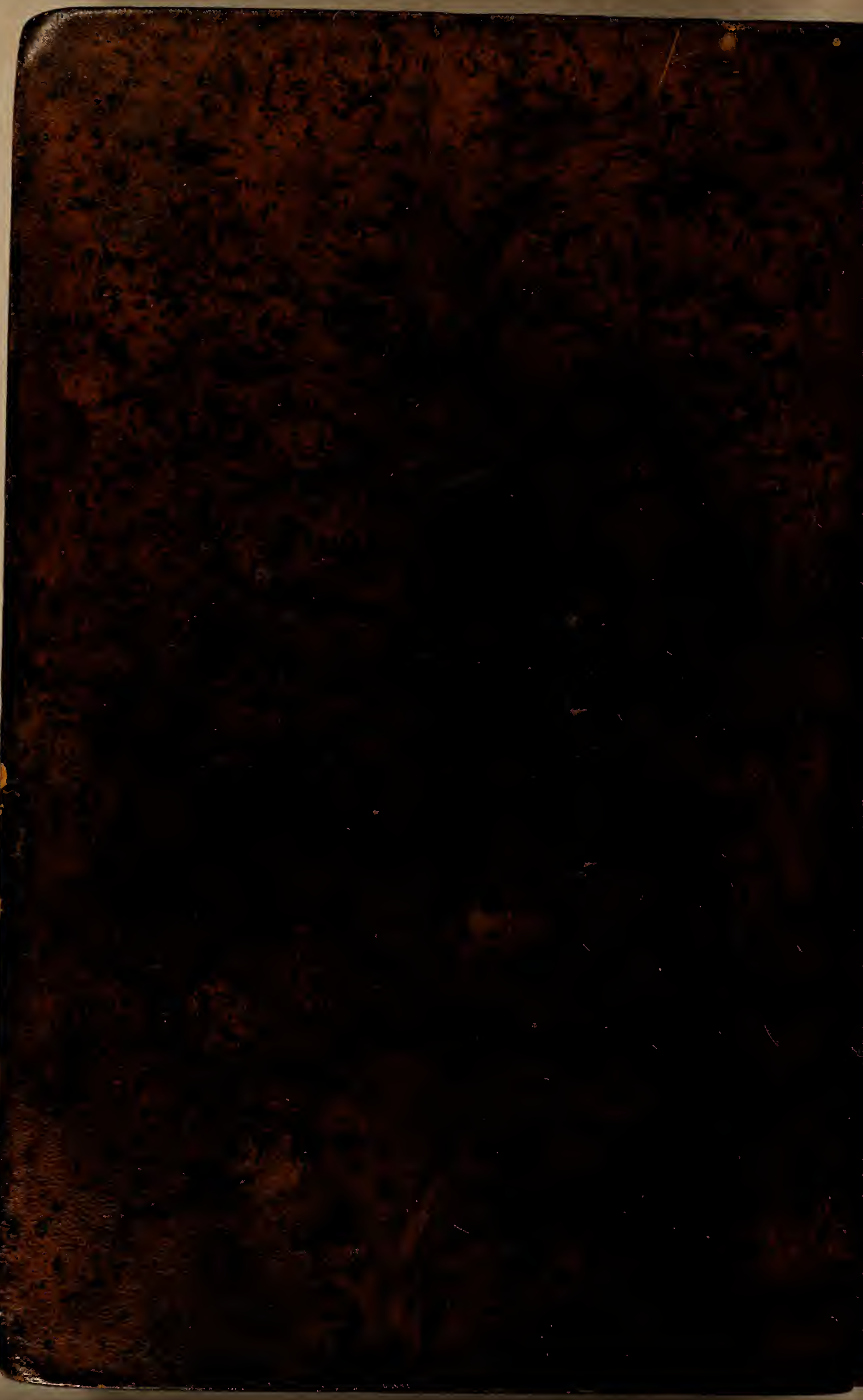
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